

BRITAIN AND EUROPE

1815—1936

BY

ROBERT M. RAYNER, B.A.

Author of

"England in Modern Times" etc.

WITH MAPS

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THERE has been a persistent demand for an edition of the author's *Concise History of Modern Europe* and his *Concise History of Britain* which will cover the period 1815 to the present day. The Publishers are therefore issuing the present volume, which contains, in addition, new chapters on the Social and Economic History of Britain during the period. In this form the book should be particularly useful in connexion with the syllabuses of the London General Schools Examination, the Cambridge School Certificate, and the Oxford School Certificate Examinations.

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PERIOD IX

BRITAIN BECOMES A GREAT INDUSTRIAL POWER (1815-1867)

During this Period the landed classes, who had hitherto controlled Parliament, were compelled to share their power with the classes that had prospered by the Industrial Revolution. The first great era of reform culminated in the repeal of the Corn Laws, which marked the definite triumph of the industrial over the landed interest. Then began an epoch of great material prosperity, in the course of which Britain gained a long lead in the world's industry, commerce, and shipping, and the foundations of the "British Commonwealth of Nations" were laid. The Period closes with the passing of a Second Reform Bill, which made an important step towards democracy by giving votes to the artisan-class in the towns.

CHAPTER LXI

HARD TIMES

1815-1822

§ 267. PEACE WITHOUT PLENTY.—The great war with France had lasted, with two short intermissions, from 1793 till 1815. During that long period the nation had suffered great hardships from the interference with foreign trade, the high cost of living, low wages, and unemployment. They had looked forward to the end of the war to bring back better times; but they were disappointed. We, in our day, have learned by experience that the evils that wars do live after them. They leave a heavy

legacy of debt, for the huge cost of waging them has to be paid sooner or later, and the dislocation of international trade takes years to repair.

Thus after the Peace of 1815 the nation suffered great distress. The war had greatly stimulated the Industrial Revolution (§§ 252-3), owing to Government demands for foodstuffs, clothing, and munitions of war; but the Government now ceased to require these commodities—in fact, it began to sell its surplus stock. Foreign trade declined instead of reviving; for continental countries were too impoverished by the war to be able to import British goods. Moreover, British exporters lost that monopoly of world-markets which command of the sea had given them in war-time. Lastly, the discharge of thousands of sailors and soldiers flooded the labour market, keeping wages at a low level, and causing widespread unemployment (N189).

§ 268. PARLIAMENT MAKES BAD WORSE.—These troubles were unavoidable—they are part of the price man has to pay for the folly of war; but Parliament aggravated the hardships of the working-class by unwise legislation. During the war, when the importation of corn had been almost impossible, farmers had been encouraged to bring more of their land under the plough. Many of those who had borrowed capital for this purpose saw themselves faced with ruin when the return of peace compelled them to meet once more the competition of imported corn. Parliament was still largely under the influence of aristocratic landlords whose incomes depended on the rents paid by these farmers. It therefore hastened to pass the *Corn Law* (1815), which imposed an import-duty on corn, so as to keep the price up to a high level. Bread was (and is) the staple food of the poor, and its dearness brought them to the verge of starvation.

And this was not all. When Pitt put on the Income Tax in 1798 (§ 246) he had promised that it should be only “for the duration of the war.” Like all “direct” taxes it fell mainly on the well-to-do; and as that class dominated Parliament, they were able to insist that Pitt’s promise should be at once

redeemed. The consequence was that the Government had to meet its expenditure (still enormously high, owing to the interest on war-loans) by increasing indirect taxation, especially "duties" on imported goods. This policy raised the cost of living for all classes of the community; but, of course, it was the poorest who felt them most.

§ 269. THE RADICALS.—Some people blamed the Government for the distress, and felt that it would be compelled to find a remedy if only the working-class had more influence on Parliament. So long as the bulk of the nation had no votes, Parliament would take little notice of their needs and rights. These "Radical" agitators therefore demanded a reform that would make Parliament really represent the nation as a whole, and not merely the upper classes. The most famous of them were "*Orator*" *Hunt*, who went about making inflammatory speeches to great mass-meetings, and *William Cobbett*, who attacked the Government week after week in his *Political Register*.

The governing classes were extremely alarmed by all this, being still haunted by the fear of "Jacobinism." They felt that any concession to such demands would lead to the complete overturn of the established order of things. They strove to silence the Radicals—*Hunt* was imprisoned and *Cobbett* driven into exile for a time; but this was like trying to cure a disease by suppressing the symptoms. This repression culminated in the famous *Peterloo Massacre*. "*Orator*" *Hunt* was announced to address a great meeting in favour of parliamentary reform in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester. Thousands flocked in from the districts round, but they were quite unarmed, and there were many women among them. Perturbed at the sight of such a great multitude, the magistrates sent a detachment of yeomanry to arrest *Hunt*. The horsemen found it difficult to force their way through the crowd, and there was some jostling and confusion. Thereupon the magistrates ordered a detachment of regular cavalry to charge the mob. The soldiers slashed their way through the terrified mob, killing several and wound-

ing more. The most deplorable part of the episode was that the Government hastened to thank the magistrates and congratulate them on their prompt action in quelling the "riot." And Parliament made the incident an excuse for passing *The Six Acts*, which practically deprived the nation of some of its most cherished rights (N190).

§ 270. CASTLEREAGH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, had no claims to statesmanship beyond a useful ability to hold a Cabinet together. For the first ten years of his long Ministry—which lasted altogether from 1812 to 1827—the dominant personality in the Ministry was *Lord Castlereagh* (1769-1822). He had represented Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna which made the peace settlement in 1814-15, and he continued to act as Foreign Secretary until his death in 1822. When peace was made, the leading sovereigns of Europe had agreed to form a permanent "Holy Alliance," and to meet from time to time to discuss matters of common interest in European affairs. The great Austrian Minister, Metternich, contrived that these periodical "Congresses" should be used to arrange joint action against "revolutionary movements" in various parts of Europe. Castlereagh, like most of his colleagues in the Cabinet, was a strong Tory and a determined "Anti-Jacobin"; but he knew that Parliament would never support a Ministry that tried to use the British army and navy to put down attempts by foreign peoples to win constitutional government. He therefore announced at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) that Britain would take no part in any such action; and when, at the Congress of Troppau (1820), the Powers did decide to help the King of Naples to crush a revolt, the British representative protested and withdrew. This undermined the effectiveness of the Holy Alliance, and it began to decay.

§ 271. THE TIDE OF REACTION TURNS.—The bad times, the Corn Law, the heavy taxation, and the Six Acts combined to

make the Government extremely unpopular. By 1820 they were about the best-hated set of men that ever ruled Britain. All the credit they had won in guiding the country to victory in the war had long since evaporated. The "Battle of Waterloo" made a great impression on the minds of people who had hitherto supported the Government; men felt that if the Tories could not keep order without the sabring of women and children, it was time they gave way to ministers who could.

Their prestige sank still lower when they tried to please George IV (who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his poor blind, mad old father in 1820) over what was known as *The Queen's Affair*. The new King liked to consider himself "the first gentleman of Europe," but he was really a selfish and sensual old fop, for whom nobody could feel any affection or respect. He had long since separated from his wife, whom he had cruelly wronged; and he now demanded that a Bill of Pains and Penalties should be passed to prevent her from taking any part in public life as Queen. The great bulk of the nation sided with her in the unseemly wrangle that ensued—so strong was the feeling on the subject that Lord Liverpool had to withdraw the measure. The painful situation was brought to an end a few weeks later by the death of the unfortunate lady.

The only actual sign of danger to the Government was the *Cato Street Conspiracy* (1820)—a wild plot to murder all the ministers when gathered at a dinner-party, to seize the Tower and the Bank and the Government Offices, and set up a republic. The conspirators' plans were known to the police, they were arrested while making their final preparations, and four of them were hanged. Nevertheless, it was evident that the nation was sick and tired of reactionary Toryism, and had lost respect even for the monarchy. It seemed that the Ministry must collapse—perhaps that the dreaded revolution was at hand. But there were in the Tory party a number of men who had some understanding of the evils of the day and of how they might be remedied; and circumstances now gave this group the ascendancy in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet.

CHAPTER LXII

THE TORY REFORMERS

1822-1827

§ 272. THE ENLIGHTENED TORIES.—When Castlereagh committed suicide in a fit of depression in 1822, Lord Liverpool had great difficulty in finding a suitable man to take over the responsible duties of Foreign Secretary. The most obvious candidate for the post was *George Canning* (1770-1827), who had made a mark as Foreign Secretary fifteen years before. But Canning had resigned over the Cabinet's persecution of the Queen (§ 271), and had thereby brought himself into extreme disfavour with George IV. It seemed as if his career as an active statesman was closed. He had just accepted the post of Governor-General of India—which meant that he would disappear altogether from public life at home—when the death of Castlereagh opened the path of ambition to him again. At first the King would not hear of appointing him, but he gave way when Lord Liverpool forced his hand by threatening to resign himself; for this might have led to the Whigs gaining office, and George IV had now become as bitter a Tory as his father.

Canning was a very different type of man from his predecessor. Castlereagh was a haughty aristocrat, who made no attempt to win popularity for himself or his measures. Canning, on the other hand, had made his way in the political world by a forceful personality and brilliant speech-making (N191). His colleagues in the Cabinet had always rather looked down on him as a man of doubtful social position—very clever, no doubt, but not to be regarded as one of themselves.

But other changes now took place in the Liverpool Ministry which made Canning more at home in it. Several of the old "die-hard" Tories like Sidmouth and Eldon resigned at about this time, and their places were taken by Tories of a new type—

men whose fortunes were due to the growth of commerce and manufactures under the Industrial Revolution rather than to the ownership of land. Such men were *Robert Peel* (1788–1850), who now became Home Secretary, *F. J. Robinson*, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *William Huskisson* (1770–1830), who took charge of the Board of Trade. The main concern of the “Old Gang” had been to repress discontents by such methods as The Six Acts; but the younger men had a greater understanding of the problems which underlay the discontents of the time, and more practical ability in tackling them. No social prejudices prevented their appreciation of Canning’s greatness as a statesman, and he acquired much the same sort of dominant position in the counsels of the Government that had formerly been enjoyed by Castlereagh.

§ 273. CANNING AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—Canning continued his predecessor’s policy of refusing to join with the other Great Powers in helping foreign Governments to repress “liberal” movements among their subjects (§ 270); and in several cases he went a long step further—he intervened on behalf of the insurgents. For instance, he sent an army to Lisbon to prevent the overthrow of the Constitution which the Portuguese “liberals” had established. Even more noteworthy was his action over the Spanish colonies in South America. These had refused to recognise the authority of “King” Joseph Bonaparte (§ 261); and they found it so advantageous to be free from the restrictions which their home Government had always imposed on their commerce that when their “legitimate” King, Ferdinand, was restored to the throne in 1814, they declared that they were going to maintain their independence. Ferdinand tried in vain to compel them to submit; and when the other Powers proposed to come to his aid in the matter, Canning recognised the independence of the new republics, which was a broad hint that the British navy would prevent the transport of French or Russian troops to suppress them (N191). In this action he was supported by the United States, whose

President laid down what has ever since been known as "The Monroe Doctrine"—to the effect that the United States would not suffer any interference by European Powers in the affairs of the American continents.

Another important example of Canning's activity on behalf of foreign "liberal" movements was his intervention in the Greek War of Independence. The Greeks had revolted against the barbarous tyranny of their Turkish rulers. Many Englishmen of the educated class had flocked to support the rebels, the most famous of these volunteers being Lord Byron. Canning did not intervene for some time, for he feared lest the weakening of Turkey should make Russia all-powerful in the Eastern Mediterranean. But when the Sultan's Egyptian troops seemed bent on wiping the Greek nation out of existence altogether, he joined with Russia and France in sending a combined fleet to put a check on such atrocities. As the allied ships lay alongside the Turkish navy in *Navarino Bay* (1827), a Turkish ship fired on a British row-boat, whereupon a general engagement ensued in which the Turkish navy was completely destroyed. The British Government apologised to the Sultan for this "untoward incident," for war had not been declared against him; but no apology could cancel the effect of the action, which made it impossible for the Sultan to overcome his Greek subjects. In the end he was compelled to recognise their independence by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829).

§ 274. PEEL HUMANISES THE CRIMINAL LAW.—For centuries past Parliament's only notion of repressing crime had been to impose the death penalty for more and more offences. The consequence was that the criminal law had become a mass of absurdities and inconsistencies. No less than two hundred offences were punishable with death—burglary by night (but not burglary by day!), personating a Chelsea pensioner, stealing from a bleaching-ground, and cutting down young fruit trees, and so on. Various attempts had been made to remove these anomalies, especially by Sir Samuel Romilly (N193), but in

vain. The severity of the law resulted in crimes often going unpunished altogether, for juries constantly acquitted prisoners in contradiction of the plainest evidence, rather than see a fellow-creature sent to the gallows for some trifling offence. Peel set about the revision of the criminal code with a grasp of the fact that it is the certainty of punishment rather than its severity that acts as a deterrent. He repealed the death penalty for over a hundred offences, substituting imprisonment or transportation.

A few years later he crowned his work in this direction by forming the police system. In place of the incompetent old night-watchmen he instituted a regular constabulary. Unlike the police of other countries, there was nothing military about these "Bobbies" (as they were nicknamed after their founder). They wore tail-coats and tall hats, and were armed only with wooden truncheons. It was only the Metropolitan Police Force that he organised, for his authority in this matter was confined to the London district; but his innovation worked such a remarkable improvement that within a few years it was copied by other local authorities, and a police system grew up all over the country, of which as a nation we may be justly proud.

§ 275. THE MORNING STAR OF FREE TRADE.—Huskisson was the first Minister to realise that Britain's future lay in commerce rather than in agriculture, and to make a systematic attempt to foster foreign trade by the principles laid down in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (§ 239). Pitt had simplified and reduced the Customs Duties, but since then the "Book of Rates" had got into a fearful tangle again. Huskisson abolished many of the duties and reduced others, taking particular care that raw materials coming into the country for manufacture should not be burdened with taxation. He also modified the Navigation Laws, which had been passed in the seventeenth century to encourage British shipping by forbidding foreign goods being brought to Britain save in British ships or in ships of the country whence the goods came (§ 162). These laws had served their

turn in their day, but they were now out of date ; for several foreign countries were retaliating by adopting similar methods against British shipping. The Navigation Laws were not finally abolished until 1849 ; but Huskisson obtained for the Board of Trade the power to make bargains with other countries by which each party suspended such restrictions against the other.

Furthermore, Huskisson was almost the only man of his generation to realise the importance of fostering the new Empire that was growing up. He did so by granting preferential duties to the colonies—that is to say, by allowing colonial goods to come in at lower rates of duty than those imposed on foreign goods, and so giving the Empire produce an advantage in selling to British buyers. This applied particularly to Canadian timber.

§ 276. THE REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION ACTS.—All the reforms we have been describing were carried through by Ministers ; but another of not less importance was put through by a little group of independent Radicals. The Combination Acts, by which Pitt made it illegal for workmen to combine to gain higher wages, had not destroyed the Trade Unions (§ 255)—it had merely compelled them to become secret, and therefore more dangerous than ever. A Radical master-tailor named *Francis Place* set himself to get the Act repealed—not because he believed in Trade Unions, but because he was convinced that if men were free to join Unions they would no longer want to do so.

He inspired Joseph Hume, one of the very few Radical Members of Parliament, to bring in a Bill repealing the Combination Acts. This Bill was smuggled through Parliament without the members really understanding its importance (1824). But Place's expectation that this would weaken Trade Unionism was speedily falsified. On the contrary, the Unions took such advantage of the new law that strikes occurred all over the country. Deputations of shipbuilders and cotton-masters convinced the

Ministers that they had made a mistake in letting the Bill go through. But Place was a bad man to beat. When the Government set up a Committee to inquire what had best be done, he contrived that respectable working-men should be brought up to town to waylay members and respectfully ask for fairplay ; and Hume cross-examined the witnesses who came before the Committee with such skill that in the end the Act of the previous year was merely modified. Henceforward it was definitely declared to be lawful for men to consult together about wages, and to take concerted action in withholding their labour ; but they were strictly forbidden to “ molest ” or “ obstruct ” either employers or fellow-workmen who refused to come out on strike.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE END OF TORY RULE

1827-1830

§ 277. Two BURNING QUESTIONS.—Parliament was almost unanimous in passing most of the reforms mentioned in the last chapter ; but there were two matters upon which Tories were sharply divided. Should Catholics be given equal rights as citizens with Protestants—should they be eligible as Members of Parliament, for instance ? And should the House of Commons be reorganised so as to make it more representative of the nation ? The Whigs supported both reforms ; but among the Tories some, like Wellington and Peel, were opposed to both, while others, like Canning and Huskisson, were in favour of Emancipation but not Parliamentary Reform. As long as Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister he contrived to keep these disagreements in the background. But early in 1827 his health failed and he had to resign. Canning had dominated the Cabinet for so long that the King had no choice but to make him Prime Minister. The cracks in the party which Liverpool had

"papered over" so skilfully now burst open into a definite split. The Wellingtonian wing had been willing to act as colleagues of Canning in the Liverpool Ministry, but they would not serve under him. Their resignations made it very difficult for him to form an efficient Ministry, and may have hastened his death a few months later (1827).

His old friend Lord Goderich (formerly Robinson) tried to carry on the Government, but nobody had much faith in the Canningites now that Canning himself was gone, and they were soon forced to resign. George IV then placed Wellington in office, with Peel as leader of the House of Commons. He was delighted at the turn things had taken, for he felt that the country would now be safe from the "danger" of Catholic Emancipation.

§ 278. RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.—But Fate had a strange trick in store for him : his high Tory friends found themselves compelled not merely to consent to Emancipation, but to force it on a reluctant Parliament and nation, although in so doing they shattered the Tory party, which had been in office for sixty years!

The first matter in which they had to give way to the reforming spirit was the *Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts* (1828).

These Acts had been passed in the reign of Charles II to enhance the privileged position of the Church of England by making Dissenters ineligible for public offices in the Government or municipalities (N118). It was long since anyone had been prosecuted for breaking the law in the matter ; but with the growth of more tolerant views about religion, broad-minded men had long felt that it was unjust to place millions of worthy fellow-citizens in a humiliating position of inferiority. The Whigs (who had always counted Dissenters among their most loyal supporters in elections) now brought forward a motion that the Acts should be repealed. The Government found public opinion so strong on the subject that they had to give way before it.

In resisting Catholic Emancipation, on the other hand, they had four-fifths of English and Scottish people at their backs ;

for "anti-Papist" prejudice was still very strong. Of course, the part of the British Isles most affected by the question was Ireland, where Catholics formed the great bulk of the population. The Irish felt that the English Government had never given them fair play in this or any other matter, and they particularly resented the shameful betrayal of promises made as the price of their consent to the Act of Union in 1800 (§ 250). A great movement had recently been organised under the leadership of *Daniel O'Connell*—probably the most famous political agitator in all history. He had the support of the Catholic clergy, whose influence over the Irish peasants was all-powerful, and the expenses of the movement were met by a "Catholic Rent" of a penny a week from nearly every household in the land. His method was to hold great mass-meetings, which he inflamed to wrathful indignation against the wrongs of Ireland; but he always urged his followers to refrain from violence, lest the English Government should make this an excuse to put down the movement by military force.

Wellington sent over a personal friend of his, Lord Anglesey, as Lord-Lieutenant, with the special object of keeping the agitation in check; but Anglesey reported that what he had seen convinced him that if Emancipation were not speedily granted, a terrible rising would occur—perhaps a civil war. This opened the Duke's eyes to the gravity of the situation—he had seen enough of war to make him determined not to let its horrors loose in the King's dominions if he could help it. Then O'Connell clinched matters by getting himself elected Member of Parliament for County Clare. Of course, he was not strictly eligible, being a Catholic; but the fact that the electors gave him a triumphant majority over his opponent, who was one of the few popular Protestant landlords, was a convincing demonstration of the determined spirit of the Irish people. So Wellington and Peel felt that it would be the lesser of two evils to give way. By the *Catholic Relief Act* (1829) all public offices were open to Catholics save that of Sovereign, Regent, and Lord Chancellor.

§ 279. "OUR MATCHLESS CONSTITUTION."—It was a great shock to the rank-and-file of the Tories that their leaders should have given way over the Catholic claims. The one force that held them together was the feeling that the Whigs must be kept out of office at all costs lest they should "destroy the Constitution" by putting through a reform of Parliament.

What, then, was the system which Wellington and his friends so staunchly upheld? Ever since the fifteenth century each county had elected two members; but there was no system about the representation of towns. The Industrial Revolution had caused a great shifting of population; many places still sent members to Parliament on the strength of a bygone importance, when they had shrunk to a dozen voters or less; while great industrial towns had grown up, such as Birmingham, which had no representation at all. The right to vote ("the franchise") was distributed in an equally haphazard way. In many boroughs it was confined to members of the corporation; in others it was enjoyed by all who paid rates; in others to the holders of particular dwellings; and so on. And there were scores of "rotten boroughs"—constituencies in which there were so few voters that the chief landlord of the place could procure the election of anybody he liked by means of intimidation and bribery. Thus the landlord-class really dominated Parliament. A great nobleman like the Earl of Lonsdale returned ten members of the House of Commons, while all Yorkshire returned only two, and Manchester none at all!

Men of "liberal" views had often discussed the reform of these injustices and absurdities, and Pitt had brought in a Bill to end some of the worst of them; but the borough-owners fought tooth and nail to preserve the system to which they owed so much of their wealth and importance, and they had hitherto been successful. During the 'twenties, however, the demand for reform had been growing louder and more insistent. The Whigs, who had long been rather half-hearted about it, now took it up with renewed enthusiasm as a popular move against the Tory Government. Radicals like Cobbett, too, were

stirring up the working-classes to insist on parliamentary representation as a cure for all their sufferings (§ 269). Moreover, manufacturers, merchants, professional men, and all who were thriving on the Industrial Revolution, felt more and more how unjust it was that the landowners should monopolise political power.

In 1830 the tidal wave which had long been gathering weight came to a head. The death of George IV in that year removed from the scene an implacable opponent of reform; and his brother, who succeeded him as *William IV*, was inclined to pose as a "reformer." Moreover, when the Duke made a statement of his policy to the first Parliament of the reign, he expressed himself so strongly against the smallest alteration in "our matchless Constitution" that some of the younger members of his Ministry resigned and went over to the Opposition. Such men as Lord Palmerston and Lord Melbourne were not very enthusiastic about "reform" for its own sake, but they felt that it was folly to try to withstand public opinion on the subject.

The Wellington Government, already weakened by its surrender over Catholic Emancipation, could not stand this second shock. The Duke resigned, and old King William sent for Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs, to form a Government.

The sixty years of Tory rule had come to an end at last!

§ 280. THE GREAT REFORM BILL.—Of course, the first use the Whigs made of their power was to bring in a Reform Bill (April 1831). After a long and animated debate, the House of Commons rejected it by a majority of eight. Thereupon Lord Grey dissolved Parliament, and there followed the most exciting General Election in all our history.¹ Naturally, the borough-owners made the most desperate efforts to defeat the Whigs, but they were overwhelmed by the passionate determination of the nation in favour of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" Every constituency in which the voting was at

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all free returned members pledged to support it; and when the Bill was brought before the new House of Commons it was passed by a substantial majority. Then it was the Lords' turn to try to hold the fort for the Old Régime. When the Bill came before them they passed such drastic amendments that it became worthless. It was impossible for Grey to "appeal to the country" again so soon after the last General Election; so he asked the King to force the Bill through by creating a hundred new Whig peers to vote down the Opposition. But William refused, for the Bill was a much bolder measure than he had expected, and he hesitated about making such a sweeping change in the Constitution. So Lord Grey and the Whigs resigned, and Wellington became Prime Minister again.

But only for a few weeks. The nation showed in the most vigorous way its indignation at the shelving of the measure on which it had set its heart. Great meetings of working-men were held in the north and midlands. The City of London threatened to embarrass the Government by withdrawing the gold from the Bank of England. Riots broke out in which public buildings were destroyed. There were no regular police, and the army was too small to cope with such widespread disorders—even if the soldiers could be relied on to act in such a cause, which Wellington had reason to doubt. So he had to give up the attempt, and the King was compelled to recall Grey and agree to his request. Of course the House of Lords did not hold out any longer—that would have meant cheapening the dignity of the peerage, and would not have saved them from the Bill in any case. It became law in 1832.

The Great Reform Bill deprived fifty-six very small constituencies—the *very* rotten boroughs—of both their members; thirty others, rather larger, were allowed to retain one. The seats thus set free were distributed among the large towns which had hitherto been unrepresented. The right to vote in boroughs was given to all householders who paid £10 or more a year in rent. Thus the Bill did less than nothing for the working-class, who had been so enthusiastic about it. Many of them had

had votes in the old boroughs, but very few paid as much as £10 a year in rent. The real effect of the Bill, then, was to make the landlords share their political power with the upper middle class.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE FIRST GREAT ERA OF REFORM

1830-1841

§ 281. THE REFORMED PARLIAMENT.—As might have been expected, the first General Election after the passing of the Reform Bill confirmed the Whigs in power by a big majority ; and there followed a decade of tremendous activity in Parliament. The rapid development of manufactures during the past fifty years had brought about great changes in social conditions, such as the growth of crowded industrial towns. The Tories, who had monopolised power since 1770, had been very reluctant to make any drastic alterations in the law to deal with these new conditions—partly because they believed in the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, that the less the Government interferes with the lives of individuals the better, and partly because they feared lest reform should lead on to revolution, as in France. But a new spirit had now come over Parliament. Recent elections showed that the nation wanted the overdue reforms to be passed without delay, and the Government set about its task with a will. Royal Commissions were set up to inquire into existing evils and to recommend remedies for them ; and more Acts of Parliament were passed in the ensuing decade than during the previous half-century.

The career of the Government was checked for a few months at the end of 1834, however. Old King William had been alarmed by the rushing tide of legislation, so he took advantage of a chance defeat of the Ministry to call for its resignation, and commissioned Peel to form a Cabinet. Peel issued the *Tam-*

worth Manifesto, in which he set forth the programme of the "Conservative" party which he had been forming out of the ruins of the old Toryism. He announced that they accepted the new parliamentary system, and were prepared to go forward with any sensible reforms that might be necessary, but that they would not proceed with such reckless haste as the Whigs. When he dissolved Parliament, however, the voters returned the Whigs with almost the same majority as before. So Peel had to resign after his "Hundred Days" of power; and the Whigs returned to office under the premiership of Lord Melbourne.

§ 282. THE FACTORY ACT.—One of the most obvious cases of fresh laws being needed to deal with changed conditions was the employment of children in factories. It may or may not have been wise to leave workmen to make their own bargains with employers, according to the "law of supply and demand"—but not when the "workmen" were six or seven years old. Much of the work of machine-minding could be done by children; and times were so bad that parents were forced to send them to work for the sake of the shilling or two a week that their wages added to the family budget. As soon as they could walk they were sent to a mill or a mine, to work for ten, twelve, or fourteen hours a day in a stifling atmosphere, with no schooling and no play and no pleasure in their lives at all. Whenever proposals were made for diminishing the evils, the millowners declared that they would be ruined if they could not keep their mills working for long hours.

But the cause of the children was now taken up by Lord Ashley, afterwards *Earl of Shaftesbury* (1801-1885). He was an aristocratic Tory landowner; and like that other great Tory philanthropist, Wilberforce, a pious evangelical Churchman. He induced the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the conditions in the factories; and the report which this Commission produced shocked Parliament into doing something to improve matters. The Factory Act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine altogether; the

daily hours of those under thirteen were limited to 8 ; while " young persons " under eighteen were not to work more than 13½. A particularly important and novel feature about the Act was that it provided for inspectors to be appointed by the Home Office to see that these restrictions were duly carried out. This was the beginning of " bureaucracy "—the administration of the law by paid officials instead of by local magistrates. The Act once passed, the masters found that it did not ruin them after all, for it imposed the same restrictions on all alike.

§ 283. THE NEW POOR LAW.—Another of the most urgent problems of the day was the relief of the poor. By the Poor Law which had been in force ever since the days of Elizabeth (§ 115), a rate was levied on the landholders in each district for this purpose, and the funds were administered by locally-elected " Guardians." But improvements in agriculture and machine-production, together with the rapid increase in the population, had brought wages so low that the old system had long since proved inadequate. When, towards the end of the eighteenth century, agricultural wages fell to about six shillings a week, with bread at famine prices, tens of thousands of working-class families were brought to the verge of starvation—or beyond it. The governing class were frightened lest this state of things should lead to an outbreak of " Jacobinism." A meeting of Berkshire magistrates at Speenhamland, near Newbury, decided to adopt a sliding scale of relief which would make the labourer's wages up to a subsistence level—the actual amount varying with the size of his family and the price of corn. Other districts followed this example, and the *Speenhamland System* soon spread all over the country. It relieved the situation for the moment, but it led to three deplorable consequences. (1) Employers had no longer any motive for paying a living wage—they could get their labour below cost price at the expense of the ratepayers. (2) Working-men lost all self-respect, for their wages fell so low that they could not be independent of " parish relief " however industrious and thrifty they were. They came

to regard it as part of their regular income. (3) The Poor Rate soared to such heights that in some districts it amounted to more than the rent. Thousands of farmers were ruined by it, and many of them were forced to give up the struggle—to become labourers themselves, and so draw money from the rates instead of having to pay them.

Obviously something would have to be done before the growing evil strangled the prosperity of the country altogether. A Commission on the subject was appointed under the chairmanship of Edwin Chadwick, a clear-headed, practical-minded Radical. The report of this Commission resulted in *The Poor Law Amendment Act* (1834). "Outdoor Relief" was stopped for all able-bodied persons. Any who needed assistance from the rates were sent to "workhouses," where they were separated from their families, and where conditions were deliberately made more unpleasant than the most unpleasant kind of life outside. The whole system was to be under the control of three Poor Law Commissioners, of whom Chadwick himself was one.

Thus employers were henceforth compelled to pay a living wage or be deprived of labour altogether; while labourers had to provide for their own subsistence on pain of imprisonment in the "Bastilles," as the new workhouses were indignantly called. But it took a good many years for people to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and during this time the sufferings of the working-class were made more acute than ever by the Act.

§ 284. THE DECLINE OF THE WHIG MINISTRY.—When the Whigs passed their Reform Bill in 1832 it seemed as if they were destined to a lease of power as long as the Tories had formerly enjoyed. But they were beset with all sorts of difficulties, and soon began to lose the confidence of the nation. One grave problem was finance. Year after year the Government spent more than its income. Trade was bad, which diminished the return from taxation; and if they tried to make up the deficiency by increased duties, the only result was to cripple trade still further without increasing the revenue.

Another embarrassing problem was the state of Ireland. As a result of Catholic Emancipation, O'Connell was now in Parliament, at the head of a compact little group of Irish members nicknamed "O'Connell's Tail." They engaged in a new agitation—for the repeal of the Act of Union (§ 250) which had deprived Ireland of its independent government, and for the abolition of tithes. The latter were a form of rate, levied for the support of the Protestant Church, the payment of which not only bore heavily on the impoverished Irish peasantry, but was forbidden by their religion. Refusal to pay it led to scenes of violence which seemed likely to end in something like a revolution. O'Connell and his "Tail" enforced their demands by obstructing parliamentary business in every possible way; and the worst of it was that the Ministers were not agreed as to the right policy to adopt in the matter. In 1835 O'Connell made a secret bargain with the Ministry,¹ by which he undertook to drop the agitation for repeal in return for an Act abolishing tithes. But the rank and file of the Whig party were entirely opposed to this concession, and voted against the measure when it came before Parliament. So O'Connell started his twofold agitation again with redoubled bitterness, and the Government had profited nothing by an action which had robbed them of the confidence of their own supporters.

Then, again, the Radicals felt that the Whigs had cheated them over the Reform Bill, and began the "Chartist" agitation for a further reform of Parliament. Furthermore, some of the Government's well-meant reforms, such as the New Poor Law, were causing great distress among the poor.

The Whigs were saved for a time by the death of William IV in 1837. For he was succeeded by his niece *Victoria*, an inexperienced girl of eighteen, who was dependent for guidance on the Prime Minister; and Lord Melbourne proved just the man for the task. A courtly, kindly, experienced man of the world, he assisted the young Queen over her difficulties with such tact and fatherly geniality that she became devoted to him, and was

¹ Sometimes called "The Lichfield House Compact."

anxious to postpone as long as possible the day when she would have to take as her principal adviser the austere and dignified Peel.

How that day came at last we shall see in our next chapter.

CHAPTER LXV

THE UNFETTERING OF TRADE

1841-1846

§ 285. PEEL'S FIRST "FREE TRADE" BUDGET.—By 1838 the Whig Government, which had set out so confidently on its reforming career eight years before, had forfeited all its popularity. This was partly due to their concessions to O'Connell, partly to their refusal to consider the demands of the Chartists, partly to the harshness of their new Poor Law, but chiefly to their incapacity to make ends meet in the national finances. The end came when in 1841 they proposed to modify the Corn Law (§ 268). There was much to be said for the proposal, but it so alarmed the land-owning element among their own supporters that the measure was defeated. Parliament was dissolved, and the ensuing election produced a substantial Conservative majority. So the Whig Ministry resigned, much relieved to be rid of a position which had been growing more difficult and irksome every year.

Peel's hour had come. He had been nursing the Tory party back to health and strength ever since its collapse over Catholic Relief and Parliamentary Reform (§ 279). Under its new title of "Conservative," its strength lay mainly in the landed aristocracy. Its creed had been set forth in Peel's "Tamworth Manifesto" (§ 281)—to maintain the Constitution with such moderate and well-considered reforms as might be found necessary from time to time. The circumstances of Peel's accession to power gave him a twofold mandate—to set the national finances in order, and to preserve the Corn Laws.

Unlike most men in public life—whether Whig or Conservative—Peel understood business ; and he adopted a daring remedy for solving the problem with which he was faced : he proposed to increase revenue by decreasing taxation. The Whigs had got the import duties into a terrible tangle after Huskisson's attempt to clear the way for Free Trade (§ 275). There were import duties on no less than five hundred different classes of goods, and these duties were regulated by eighty different Acts of Parliament. A whole army of revenue officers was required to assess and collect it. Many of the taxes were unproductive, because they raised the price of the article so high that people could not afford to buy it. Thus our foreign trade was choked up ; for foreign countries can only pay for our goods by sending their own in exchange.

Peel reckoned that decreasing the duties would do so much to revive trade, to augment the spending-power of the nation and the consumption of goods, that the other duties would provide a greatly increased revenue. Of course, some little time would be needed to allow this process to take effect ; so he reimposed the Income Tax for a few years, at the rate of 6d. in the £.

The first year of the new system gave such promising results that it was carried a little further in 1843, and again in the two following years. The cost of living went down, trade revived, and the budget was balanced year by year. All-round prosperity of this sort is a plant of slow growth, however ; and in this case its development was retarded by the fact that Peel did not venture to tamper with the most obstructive and burdensome of all these duties—those on corn.

§ 286. THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—But a number of men—mostly well-to-do manufacturers and merchants—felt that the duties which kept foreign corn out of the country for the benefit of the “ landed classes ” (§ 268) were cramping trade as well as keeping up the price of the staple food of the poor. They therefore formed a great organisation to educate public

opinion on the subject, and so to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament to repeal the obnoxious laws. Meetings were held all over the country ; lectures were given ; leaflets and pamphlets were distributed. Two circumstances greatly favoured the agitation : (1) the institution of the *Penny Post* (1840), which enabled them to reach the breakfast-tables of the public in a way that would have been impossible a few years earlier ; and (2) the new *railways*, which made it easy for their lecturers to get about the country.

The two most famous apostles of the movement were *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*. Both were well-to-do manufacturers, who gave up business to advance a cause which they believed would bring prosperity to the country. Cobden's style of speech-making was a frank, straightforward appeal to common sense, while Bright was an impassioned orator who stirred his audiences to indignation against the system which allowed aristocratic landowners to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor.

Cobden was elected to Parliament in 1841, and contrived to keep the subject to the fore with persistent persuasiveness year after year. Peel became convinced that the Corn Laws would have to go, sooner or later ; but he had come into office pledged to maintain them, and his followers regarded them as something almost sacred. He was a shy, reticent man, always rather cold and distant to his colleagues, so that they knew little or nothing of his gradual change of views on the subject. Meanwhile, he turned the matter over in his mind, quietly waiting for a suitable opportunity—such as the General Election, which would be due in a year or two—to declare his new conviction, and to ask the approval of his party and the country for putting it into action.

§ 287. THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.—Then his hand was forced by an unexpected catastrophe. In 1845 the potato crop failed in Ireland. The peasantry were entirely dependent on potatoes for food, and by the autumn of that year they were literally starving. In most years it might have been possible to

relieve the situation with corn from England ; but heavy rains during the summer had ruined this crop too. As Cobden afterwards said, these untimely rains washed away the Corn Laws. Peel was deeply distressed by the accounts that reached him of the desperate plight of the Irish people, and he determined that something must be done without delay to relieve it. The most obvious method was to throw open the ports to foreign corn, and he announced to the Cabinet that he proposed to repeal the Corn Laws forthwith. Some of the old-fashioned Tory Ministers objected, even in this emergency, to such a course ; whereupon Peel resigned, and the Queen sent for Lord John Russell, who had now become the head of the Whig party. Lord John had recently declared in his famous *Edinburgh Letter* to his constituents that " total and immediate repeal " was part of the official policy of the Whig party ; but he now found that he would have as much difficulty as Peel in obtaining the unanimous support of his followers in carrying it out ; for many of the most influential Whigs were landed aristocrats, like the leading Tories. So Lord John had to give up the attempt to form a Ministry, and " handed the poisoned chalice back to Peel."

Sir Robert re-entered upon office full of confidence. He knew that many of his back-bench supporters objected to the policy, but he did not fear that their opposition would be dangerous, for most of them were country gentlemen who knew more about fox-hunting than about speech-making, and none of them seemed capable of giving the others a lead.

But here he was making a miscalculation. Among those rank-and-file Tories was a clever young Jew named *Benjamin Disraeli* (1804-81). He had been disappointed of a place in the Ministry when Peel took office in 1841, and he now led a revolt against the Prime Minister who had overlooked his claims. In a series of brilliant speeches he attacked Peel for betraying his followers in repealing the laws which he had been placed in office to defend. Thus the Tory party was split into " Peelites " and " Protectionists." Peel put through his measure with the aid of Whig votes ; but shortly afterwards the Protectionists

joined the Whig Opposition to defeat him over another proposal, and he was driven from office.

The breach in the Conservative party was never healed. Lord Derby became leader of the "Protectionists" with Disraeli as his "chief-of-staff." They were numerically stronger than the "Peelites"; but the latter included most of the abler members of the party, and they would never forgive Disraeli for his attacks on their honoured chief. The result was that the Whig-Liberals were in power with brief intervals for nearly thirty years (1846-1874). As for Peel, he was never in office again, but sat, a universally respected personality, on the Opposition benches until his death in 1850.

CHAPTER LXVI

BETTER TIMES

1835-1852

§ 288. SELF-HELP FOR THE WORKING-CLASSES.—Peel's revolution in the fiscal system of Britain was the turning-point of the century, for it marked the beginning of a period of great industrial and commercial prosperity. The effects of this were felt even among the working-classes, and ended the worst of the bad times through which they had passed since Waterloo. But this result only came after the middle of the century, and we still speak of "the hungry 'forties"—though, as a matter of fact, the 'thirties were still hungrier. Let us now briefly examine some of the attempts by which the working-classes sought to improve their lot during those hard times.

First came an attempt to use Trade Unionism for the purpose. In 1834, Robert Owen (N196) founded the *Grand National Consolidated Trade Union*, to which all existing Unions were to be affiliated. A general strike was to bring a quick end to the existing capitalist system, whereafter all competition was to cease, and manufactures were to be carried on by national

companies. It was an alluring dream for the poverty-stricken workers, and they flocked to join the Unions by tens of thousands. The Government became seriously alarmed, and made frantic efforts to crush the movement.¹ But the Grand National was too unwieldy to be effective, especially before railways and the penny post quickened communications. It was impossible for the central organisation to prevent local Unions from acting independently, or from being crushed by "the document"—a pledge which employers compelled their workmen to take, abjuring Trade Unions. The movement simply faded out, and the position of the Unions was worse than before.

Then came a movement to gain for the working-classes more control over Parliament. The Radicals (§ 269) were disappointed that the Reform Act of 1832, from which they had expected so much, merely enfranchised the middle classes (§ 280). They embodied their demands under six heads, which became known as *The People's Charter* (N198). Mass meetings were held, with torchlight processions. Representatives were chosen from various districts to a National Convention, and a petition to Parliament was drawn up. But the movement was weakened by internal dissensions. One party, led by William Lovett, was opposed to anything more than a constitutional agitation; but a "Physical Force Party," under Feargus O'Connor, was for resorting to violence if the petition was ignored—as it was.

The Government took firm steps against the danger by imprisoning the leaders, and nothing came of the threats of revolution. Nevertheless *Chartism* was for years a sort of religion to thousands of well-meaning men. After some years of quiescence it revived in 1848, when O'Connor announced a great meeting on Kennington Common, to form a procession and present a "monster petition" to Parliament. But when the

¹ A well-known example of their methods was the case of the "Dorchester Labourers." The Government prosecuted some harmless labourers at Tolpuddle in Dorsetshire for administering an oath to members of their Union, although its rules expressly forbade strikes. They were sentenced to seven years transportation under a forgotten Act of Parliament forbidding such oaths. But the outcry against this savage sentence was so great they were pardoned and brought back some years later.

Government prohibited the meeting, O'Connor (whose bark was always worse than his bite) gave way and abandoned it. Furthermore, many of the signatures to the petition were obviously forged. This ludicrous failure crippled the movement; but the underlying reason why it died away was that some of the prosperity which was now beginning to come over the nation's industries began to percolate down to the working-classes.

A movement which had far more lasting effects was *Co-operation*. A group of Rochdale weavers ("The Rochdale Pioneers") clubbed together to open a little shop for the supply of foodstuffs for themselves and their neighbours. Similar schemes had been tried before, but all had broken down. The great point about the "Toad Lane Store" was that the profits were to be shared by all customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases, and thus they all had an interest in promoting its sales. The idea spread, the system was applied to all sorts of commodities, and to-day one-third of the households of Britain are co-operators. The movement has played a great part in the political development of the nation, for it has given the working-class a motive for thrift, a bracing sense of having "a stake in the country," and valuable experience of working together for a common cause.

§ 289. THE GREAT "BOOM" BEGINS.—The repeal of the Corn Laws was a notable sign of the change which had long been coming over the nation—the change from an agricultural to an industrial people—from a Government dominated by land-owners to a Government dominated by capitalists. The Reform Act of 1832 had compelled the landlord class to share their political power with "business men," and the latter had now forced through a change in fiscal policy which mainly furthered their own interests. For by reducing the cost of food it reduced the cost of labour, and it encouraged the foreign trade on which their prosperity depended.

And the freeing of trade was only one of many measures by which Parliament advanced the interests of "big business"

during this period. In 1837 was passed the first *Limited Liability* Act. Hitherto, each of the shareholders in a business might be held responsible for all its liabilities, but henceforward the amount which each shareholder might lose by the failure of a properly registered company was limited to the amount of the capital he had put into it. This encouraged people to invest their savings in productive enterprises instead of hoarding them, and so provided the capital for the rapid expansion of industry. Peel's *Bank Act* (1844) tended in the same direction. The Bank of England is the foundation of all British industry and commerce, for it acts as a bank to all the smaller banks which provide capital for industrial development. This Act placed it in a sounder position than before, by limiting its issue of “paper money” to a fixed proportion of the gold in its vaults, which increased public confidence in it.

The great railway boom of the 'thirties and 'forties was at once a consequence and a cause of industrial prosperity. The transport of goods was one of the main objects of the new railways, and the manufacture of rails and rolling-stock stimulated iron foundries and engineering works—especially when foreign countries began to establish railway systems and had to obtain the materials from Britain. British shipbuilding, too, took a new lease of life with the adoption of steam instead of sails as means of propulsion, and of iron instead of wood as material.

We may see an outward and visible reminder of the spirit of the age when we look at the Crystal Palace; for this was originally the building which housed the first *Great Exhibition* held in Hyde Park in 1851 to display with pride the wonders of the new methods of production, and to encourage international trade.

§ 290. LORD PALMERSTON.—The nation was becoming full of self-confidence—proud of its inventive genius, of its commercial enterprise, of its material wealth, and of the national character and political institutions which underlay all this “progress.” This spirit was personified by *Lord Palmerston* (1784–1865),

who became the dominant personality in British public life for the twenty years following on the retirement of Peel in 1846.

He had begun his political life as a Tory, and had been Secretary at War during the long Ministry of Lord Liverpool; but when Wellington succeeded to the leadership of the party and declared that he was opposed to Parliamentary Reform (§ 279), Palmerston went over to the Whigs, and became Foreign Secretary in the Whig Government which held office from 1830 till 1841. This office gave unlimited scope to his immense vitality and delight in the details of administration. It has been said of him that he was "a Liberal abroad and a Conservative at home." He had supported Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform because he felt that these measures were imperatively demanded by public opinion—that it would be political suicide to withstand them; but he took little interest in the multifarious domestic reforms which were passed into law during the following years. In his own department, on the other hand, he carried on the general lines of policy laid down by Canning, especially the friendly interest in the struggles of oppressed peoples towards national independence and parliamentary government (§ 273). Nothing pleased him better than an opportunity to make the power of Britain felt abroad; and he scored several notable diplomatic successes at the expense of foreign Powers (N215). This sort of thing made him immensely popular with his fellow-countrymen, who gave him the affectionate nickname of "Pam." His Whig colleagues did not altogether approve of his methods; but his popularity was a valuable asset to them; and when they returned to office in 1846 (on the fall of Peel (§ 287)) he resumed control of the Foreign Office as a matter of course.

§ 291. "PAM" IN HOT WATER.—Circumstances had somewhat changed since his first spell of office, however. Firstly, Lord John Russell was much more disposed to insist on the Prime Minister's right to be consulted about foreign affairs than easy-going old Lord Melbourne had been. Secondly, Victoria

had in 1840 married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a well-informed and earnest-minded young German, who became a sort of unofficial private secretary to her. The Prince Consort devoted himself to the affairs of his adopted country. He had no wish that the Queen should exceed her rights as a constitutional sovereign, but he felt that it was within those rights that she should take an active part in dealing with foreign sovereigns. When, therefore, Lord Palmerston went on his jaunty way, dealing with important despatches "off his own bat," the Queen and the Prince complained to Lord John; and Lord John (who had similar grievances of his own) remonstrated with Palmerston. But the Foreign Secretary regarded the young couple at Windsor with genial contempt, and had no great respect even for the Prime Minister. He made jocular excuses, apologised—and went on doing the same thing. He knew that his popularity made him indispensable to the Government, whereas the Queen's foreign husband was disliked and distrusted.

But at last he went a step too far. The constitutional monarchy set up in France by the revolution of 1830 (N194) was ended by another revolution in 1848. Louis Philippe, the constitutional King, fled to England, and a republican government was established. The position of President in this Second Republic was obtained by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the great Emperor. In 1851 he followed his uncle's example by suddenly having all his political opponents arrested, and using the army to quell opposition in the streets of Paris; and he shortly afterwards had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French. This *coup d'état* came so suddenly that the British Government decided to withhold recognition of the new régime for the moment. But Palmerston ignored this decision, and instructed the ambassador at Paris to congratulate the new Napoleon on his success. When this became known the indignation of the Queen and the Premier boiled over, and the Foreign Minister was compelled to resign. Nevertheless, he still had a good many personal supporters in Parliament, and a few weeks later he had his "tit for tat with Johnny Russell," as

he himself put it. He led his followers to vote against the Government and turned it out.

§ 292. GLADSTONE COMPLETES PEEL'S WORK.—This let in the Protectionist Tories under Derby and Disraeli; but they found themselves in a very difficult position. For the question at once arose: Were they going to impose the Corn Laws again? The landed interest, who formed the backbone of their party, naturally expected them to do so, else why had they quarrelled with Peel? But the repeal of these laws was already producing such beneficial results that there would have been a fearful outcry at any attempt to reimpose them. Disraeli tried a sort of half-and-half policy in his budget which satisfied nobody, and the Conservatives were driven out of office within three months.

Then it was the Whigs' turn to find themselves in a quandary; for neither of their leading men (Russell and Palmerston) would serve under the other, yet neither could form a Ministry without the other. At last it was arranged that they should form a coalition with the Peelite Conservatives. One of the latter group, *Lord Aberdeen*, was to be Prime Minister, and another, *W. E. Gladstone* (1809-98), became Chancellor of the Exchequer; while Russell and Palmerston took charge of Foreign and Home departments respectively.

Gladstone had served an apprenticeship to Free Trade finance when acting as President of the Board of Trade under Peel; and he now had an opportunity to complete his master's work. His passion for economy and efficiency, his clear-headed mastery of facts and figures, and his tremendous powers of concentrated mental effort made him an ideal Chancellor of the Exchequer. The freeing of foreign trade, begun by Peel ten years before, was making Britain the workshop of the world, and Gladstone carried the process a long step further by abolishing the duties on over a hundred articles and reducing them on over a hundred more. To compensate for the temporary loss of revenue, he had to continue Peel's expedient of renewing the Income Tax; but

he outlined a scheme by which it was to be gradually reduced until 1860, when it would be possible to dispense with it altogether.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE CRIMEA AND THE MUTINY

1853-1858

§ 293. THE EASTERN QUESTION.—When Gladstone prophesied that it would be possible to remit the Income Tax in 1860 (§ 292), he should have “touched wood,” for in the interim Britain became involved in two wars which upset all his calculations.

Even when he was making that Budget Speech of 1853, a cloud no bigger than a man’s hand was gathering in the East to burst over Europe before the year was out. The root of the trouble lay in what was called “The Eastern Question.” The Ottoman Turks, a semi-civilised Moslem people, had conquered south-eastern Europe some centuries before, and had established themselves as rulers over the Christian races of the Balkan Peninsula. The Greeks had already succeeded in casting off their misrule (§ 273), and the Bulgars, Serbs, and Rumanians were permanently on the verge of rebellion. We might have expected that the Western Powers would sympathise with the efforts of fellow-Christians to throw off the degrading tyranny of semi-barbarous “unbelievers”; but this feeling was counteracted by another. The Balkan peoples were Slav by race and Orthodox by religion, and naturally looked for support to the great Slav and Orthodox Power, Russia. The other Powers felt that the Turkish Empire played a useful part in holding in check the ambitions of the Czars, who were spreading their dominions all over northern Asia and threatened to dominate Europe. And if Serbs and Bulgars threw off the yoke of the Sultan, would they not come under the influence of Russia, the “big brother” of the smaller Slav-Orthodox peoples?

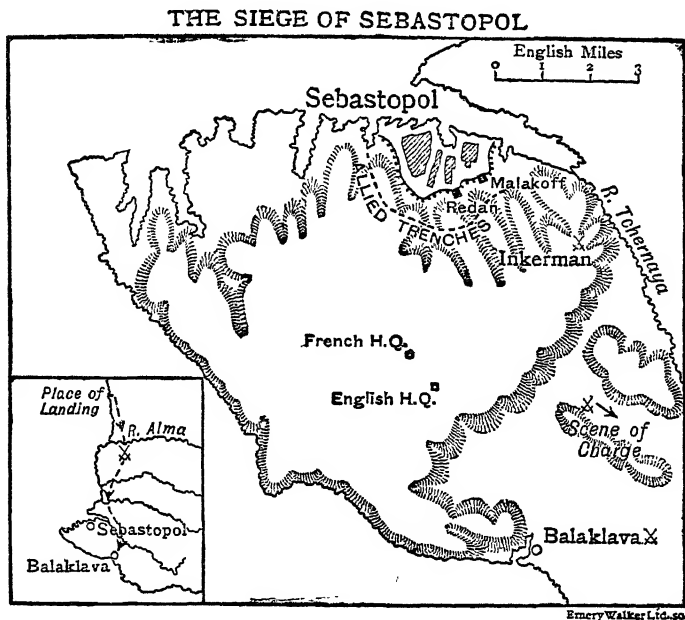
These ambitions and jealousies now led to the first big war since Waterloo. A treaty signed in the eighteenth century gave the Czar vaguely expressed rights to interfere on behalf of their co-religionists in the Turkish dominions; and in 1853 Czar Nicholas I demanded that these rights should be definitely admitted by the Sultan. Backed up by the British ambassador at Constantinople, the Sultan refused; whereupon the Czar sent an army to occupy two Turkish provinces that flanked the mouth of the Danube (June 1853). War was now declared between Russia and Turkey.

France, England, Prussia, and Austria presented "The Vienna Note" to Czar and Sultan, suggesting a settlement of the points in dispute (August 1853). The Czar accepted, but the Sultan declined them. Nevertheless, France and Britain felt bound to go to the support of the Sultan, for it was upon their advice that he had adopted the defiance of Russia which had led to the war. They therefore sent their fleets to protect Constantinople, and demanded that the Russian troops should be withdrawn from the Danubian Provinces. After some hesitation the Czar complied; but in the meantime his fleet had destroyed a Turkish squadron in the Bay of Sinope. The British public was so inflamed with fear and hatred of Russia that this perfectly legitimate act led to an outburst of war fever which forced on a declaration of war on Russia in conjunction with France, whose Emperor had grievances of his own against the Czar (March 1854), (N203).

§ 294. SOMEONE HAD BLUNDERED.—After an unsuccessful naval expedition to the Baltic, an Anglo-French army was sent to attack Sebastopol, the chief Russian naval port on the Black Sea. It was hoped that by making the Crimea the main theatre of war the allies would enjoy the same advantages that the British had enjoyed in the last war fought in a peninsula (N187)—they would be in touch with the sea, while the steppes of southern Russia would present as big an obstacle to the communications of the Czar's troops as the mountains of Spain had

presented to Napoleon. But the allied forces suffered from divided counsels, and from the fact that their war-organisation had rusted during the forty years of peace.

The Franco-British force landed some miles to the north of Sebastopol, under the command of Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, and on the way to the port the Russians resisted its



crossing of the *River Alma*. When the enemy were driven off, St. Arnaud decided that his troops needed rest before following them up. The delay gave the Russian Commander, Todleben, time to complete the fortifications; and so ably did he do it that by the time the Allies arrived they could only invest the place with inadequate forces and send home for their siege artillery. No provision had been made for a winter campaign, and the sufferings of the troops during the next few months

were terrible. Ridiculous mistakes were made by the authorities in sending things to the wrong places, and the transport system broke down so completely that stores urgently needed by the troops in the trenches were left rotting on the beach at Balaclava for lack of means to carry them twenty miles. Worse still, the hospital arrangements proved utterly inadequate—sick and wounded men died by the hundred for want of the simplest necessities. This was the first war to be fought since the invention of the electric telegraph, and the public at home were kept informed of these horrors by William Russell, the war correspondent of *The Times*.

Naturally, the Aberdeen Government was blamed, though it was no more responsible than its predecessors for the system which had broken down so deplorably. A Radical M.P. named Roebuck brought forward a motion calling for an inquiry into the conduct of the war. The Government refused to allow this while the war was still on; but its prestige was sadly shaken when Lord John Russell, one of its leading members, resigned because he thought it ought to have accepted the proposed inquiry. When the Roebuck motion was put to the vote, the House passed it, whereupon the Government resigned. Thus the coalition which had seemed so unassailably strong had collapsed ignominiously within two years of its formation.

§ 295. PALMERSTON TO THE RESCUE.—The Protectionist Tories were so weak that Lord Derby declined even to attempt to form a Ministry; Lord John Russell had made himself unpopular by his desertion of Aberdeen; and the Queen was therefore compelled to ask Lord Palmerston to become Prime Minister—as he himself expressed it, he was “L’Inévitable.” He quickly proved himself the right man for the situation. He had been a whole-hearted supporter of the anti-Russian policy which had led to the war, and his breezy, energetic self-confidence was just the spirit needed to profit by the experience so dearly bought in the first months of the war.

The notable feature of the last half of the war was the reform of the army hospital system by *Florence Nightingale*. She was a lady of wealth and social position who had devoted her life to the study of sick-nursing; and the Aberdeen Ministry had gladly accepted her offer to go out and put matters right. When she and her band of voluntary lady-helpers reached the base hospital at Scutari, they found the most appalling conditions—no water, no sanitary arrangements, no laundry system, no drugs, no bandages—not even a scrubbing-brush or a cake of soap. She displayed marvellous organising power and vigorous determination in overcoming the slackness of army officials responsible; and she got her way in the end. By the close of the war the death-rate was only a twentieth of what it had been on her arrival. Her health was permanently broken down by the strain, but she devoted the rest of her long life to the reform of the Army Medical Service, and did much to raise the status of nursing as a career for women.

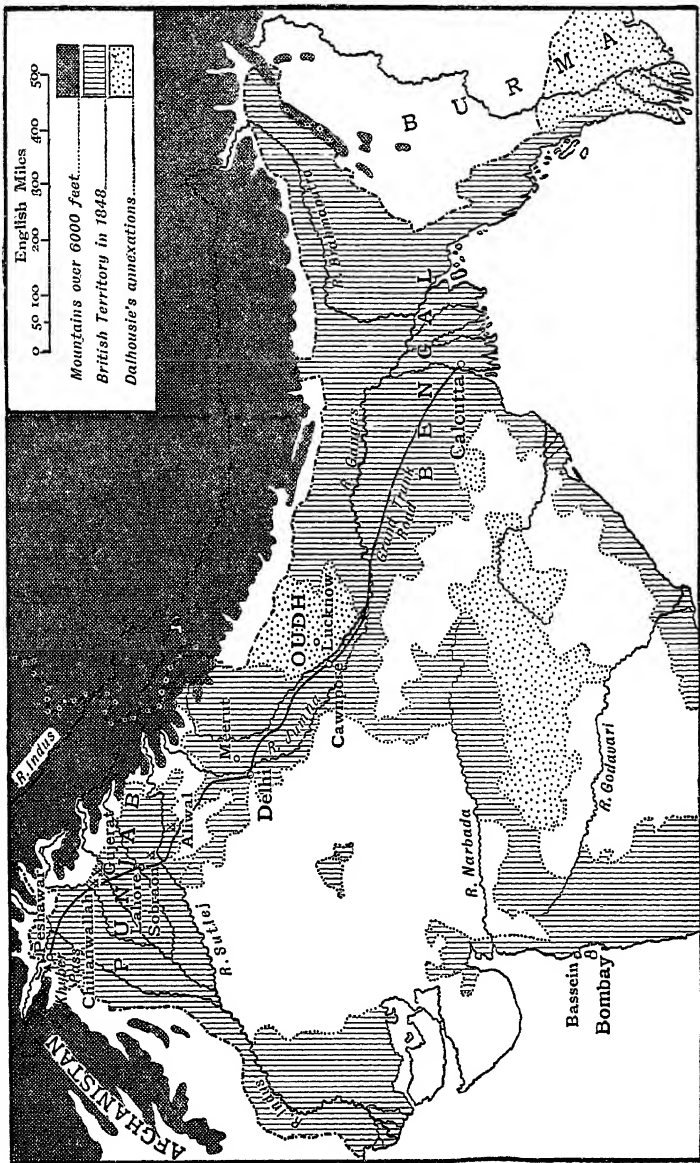
Then came the death of the Czar Nicholas (March 1855). The new Czar, Alexander II, had been in no way responsible for the events which had led to the war. When peace negotiations were opened he at once agreed to all the terms demanded by the Allies save one—an undertaking not to keep warships on the Black Sea. France was ready to give way over this point, but Palmerston insisted on it. The fact is, he was unwilling to make peace until the British had won some striking military success. But the French Emperor was bent on making peace. He had no quarrel with the new Czar; his troops had gained all the "glory" they were likely to gain in the war; the cost of it was making him unpopular. So he invited the Powers to send representatives to a great Peace Congress at Paris, where he acted as host and was the central figure in a round of festivities and discussions. Palmerston was forced to give way; but it was a particularly futile end to a particularly futile war. The Czar surrendered his claim to protect the Balkan Christians on the strength of the Sultan's promise to give his Christian subjects equal rights with Mohammedans—an undertaking which

he never made the least attempt to carry out. The Black Sea was "neutralised," but this stipulation was cancelled by the Czar in 1871 (N229). And within twenty years "the Eastern Question" was again troubling the peace of Europe.

§ 296. THE GREAT MUTINY BREAKS OUT.—The second unlooked-for event which threw out Gladstone's financial prophecies was the *Indian Mutiny* (1857-8). Trouble had long been brewing among the sepoys, chiefly because they suspected that the British were planning to undermine their religious faith. The climax came when, in 1854, the Lee-Enfield rifle was introduced; for its cartridges had to be bitten off before use, and these cartridges were smeared with grease made of animal fats which Indians were forbidden by their religions to touch. At Meerut, in April 1857, a regiment refused to carry out its musketry exercises; and when the ringleaders were imprisoned their comrades broke into revolt, released them, murdered their officers, and rushed off to Delhi, some twenty miles distant. There their story caused a terrible rising in which all the whites were massacred. Later on a force of 4000 British and native troops came from the Punjab, but they were pitted against 25,000 well-armed mutineers, holding a city defended by ten miles of high walls, and for some time they had to act on the defensive.

Apart from Delhi, the chief storm-centres of the Mutiny were Cawnpore and Lucknow. At *Cawnpore* 300 soldiers and a party of civilians engaged in railway construction were besieged with their wives and children in a tumbledown old fortress by thousands of mutineers. The commandant, Sir Hugh Wheeler, appealed for help to the Nana Sahib, an Indian prince, who had always professed warm friendship for the British, but was nursing a grievance because the Government refused to continue to pay him a huge pension (at the expense of the Indian taxpayer) which had been awarded to his adoptive father. He came—but to take command of the mutineers. After some weeks of desperate resistance, within crumbling walls and with a failing

THE MUTINY



water-supply, the survivors surrendered on a promise of safety from Nana. But hardly had they embarked on the river when all the men were shot down, and the women and children were brought back into the town. Some days later they too were murdered, and their bodies were thrown down a great well in the courtyard. At Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, the little garrison, which included a number of sepoys, contrived to hold out until relief came.

§ 297. THE GREAT MUTINY SUPPRESSED.—The Governor-General, Lord Canning, had not hitherto had a particularly distinguished career ; but he rose to the occasion finely. Serious as the situation was, he never fell into a panic. He summoned troops engaged in a less critical campaign in Persia, and sent for others from the Cape. By the beginning of July he was able to despatch Sir Henry Havelock to the scene of the disturbance with 1500 men. Cawnpore was recaptured ; but the little force (though reinforced by 2500 more men under Sir James Outram) was itself shut up in Lucknow by the mutineers. In September the troops outside Delhi took the city by assault, after the Kashmir gate had been blown in by a famous act of heroism.

Meanwhile 20,000 fresh troops had been sent out from home under Sir Colin Campbell, one of the few senior officers who had come out of the Crimean War without losing his military reputation. He carried out his task most efficiently. Havelock's force was released from Lucknow, and the rebels who still swarmed round Delhi were driven off. By August 1858 the last embers of the rebellion had been stamped out.

The repression was stained by no undue severity. The people at home who clamoured for bloodthirsty reprisals, nicknamed the Governor-General " Clemency Canning " in ridicule of his mildness ; but his policy was supported by the Queen and the Ministry ; and there is no doubt that it was justified by the result (N210).

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE NEW COLONIAL EMPIRE

1833-1867

§ 298. THE RADICAL IMPERIALISTS.—During the period with which we are now dealing a new overseas empire was growing up. It owed very little to the conscious planning of statesmen—some people have gone so far as to say that it was “acquired in a fit of absence of mind.” But Britons seem to have inherited an impulse to seek their fortunes in new lands, as well as qualities of character that make them successful in so doing.

British Governments were guided by two principles in their dealings with these settlements. Firstly, the humanitarian impulse which was so strong at this time (N193) impelled them to safeguard the native races from being wronged; we have seen this spirit at work in the abolition of slavery, and we shall see further examples of it in the early history of both South Africa and of New Zealand. Secondly, pride in our democratic Constitution made them very ready to grant the colonies the right of self-government; and they were encouraged in this policy by a disbelief in the practical value of colonies to the mother-country. What had happened to the American colonies would, they felt sure, happen again—“when the fruit was ripe it would drop off the tree.”

The first “imperialists” in the modern sense of the term were a little group of Radicals, led by *Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (1796-1862). An ambitious, able, and energetic man, he ruined his chances of a successful career in Parliament by abducting an heiress and inducing her to marry him. While in prison expiating this crime, he read every book about the colonies that he could get hold of, with a view to making a fresh start in life. He formed very definite views on the subject, and when he was released he founded a Colonisation Society to put these views into action. Britain, he pointed out, was over-populated, while

the colonies were empty. Vast supplies of raw material were required for our industrial machinery, and vast supplies of food for our industrial workers. Furthermore, these industries needed ever-expanding markets for their products. If our overseas possessions were developed they could absorb surplus population, and send home foodstuffs and raw materials in return for British manufactured goods. The hindrances to this complementary system were two. (1) So long as people could get land free in the colonies, they would take it up without any real intention of developing it, nor was the necessary labour available on the spot. (2) The poorest class, members of which would benefit most by being transplanted into a new country, were just those who could not afford the cost of emigration. If the Government *sold* the land instead of making free grants, it would acquire a fund with which to assist emigration, and everybody would be better off.

§ 299. ADVANCE AUSTRALIA !—The first colony to be developed on these lines was Australia. We have seen in an earlier chapter (§ 241) how that subcontinent came to be used as a dumping-place for convicts. Not all of those sent out were criminals in the usual sense of the word ; for the laws in those days were so severe that a person might be sentenced to transportation for quite a trivial offence—even for such actions as that of the “Dorchester Labourers” (§ 288). Most of them remained as free settlers when their sentences expired ; and when Captain MacArthur, an officer of the garrison, discovered splendid pasturage beyond the Blue Mountains at the back of Sydney, the colony of New South Wales began to thrive. He imported fine merino sheep from the Cape, and interested the wool manufacturers of Yorkshire in this new source of supply for their raw material.

But many who might have emigrated were deterred by the idea of settling among ex-convicts, and in 1835 Wakefield planned a new settlement that should be free from the “taint.” He intended that “South Australia” should be self-governing

from the start ; but the Home Government intervened, and the new colony was with difficulty saved from financial collapse by Sir George Grey, who became Governor in 1841. Nevertheless, within a few years 16,000 settlers were successfully "planted" under Wakefield's scheme.

The British Government now abolished transportation for crime, replacing it by a system of penal servitude in convict prisons. As soon as this check had been removed, Australia began to develop at an amazing pace. In 1833, for instance, the population of New South Wales was only 60,000, of whom nearly half were convicts, but in 1850 it was 265,000, of whom less than 1 per cent. were convicts. The way was now open for responsible self-government, and in 1850 Lord John Russell carried a Bill empowering the three colonies to frame their own Constitutions, including their own trade regulations. There were to be no "tea-parties" in Sydney harbour ! Meanwhile Victoria had been settled by people from New South Wales, and the discovery of gold there in 1851 caused the population to be trebled within a few years.

§ 300. EARLY DAYS IN NEW ZEALAND.—An even fairer field for Wakefield's activities was offered by New Zealand, where the climate and soil more closely resembled those of Great Britain. Here the problems of settlement were complicated by the existence of a vigorous, intelligent, and adaptable native race. Christian missionaries already at work among them were most anxious to preserve their converts from debasing contact with other white men ; and in this they were strongly supported by Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, an evangelical Churchman, who felt that Britain ought to act as trustee for civilisation towards these "backward races." Despite the Government's refusal to help in any way, Wakefield contrived to organise a "New Zealand Company," and in 1839 sent out a pioneer party under his brother, Charles Wakefield. Unfortunately the settlers got into conflict both with the missionaries and with the natives over the Maori system by which land is owned not by

individuals, but by the tribe as a whole. It was no longer possible for the Government to hold aloof, and in 1840 an officer was sent to annex the islands. He called a gathering of the Maori chiefs and concluded with them the *Treaty of Waitangi* (1840), by which they recognised Queen Victoria as their sovereign, but were themselves recognised as sole owners of the soil. Nevertheless, there was constant friction for some years; the settlers were greedy for land, the missionaries opposed them, and the Maoris love quarrelling for its own sake. Fortunately Sir George Grey—fresh from his success in setting South Australia on its feet—was appointed Governor in 1845. He won the hearts of the Maoris by learning their language and studying their folklore, but he insisted on their living at peace with their white neighbours, and he settled the trouble over land-tenure by buying up large areas from the native tribes and selling it to settlers on terms they could understand. The missionaries were gradually reconciled to the new state of affairs. The Scottish Churches organised a party of settlers to the southern part of the colony, where they found conditions very similar to those of their native land; while the Church Missionary Society sent out a similar party to what is now Canterbury. Thus by 1852 New Zealand had some 30,000 white inhabitants, and was in a position to undertake its own government. A Constitution was drafted under the supervision of Grey by which each district had its own elected "Provincial Council," and also sent representatives to a General Assembly at Wellington (named after the old Duke, who had just died), to which a measure of independence was granted as complete as that of the Australian colonies.

§ 301. DUTCH AND BRITISH IN SOUTH AFRICA.—In South Africa there was also a "native problem," and here it was complicated by the presence of another European race. The conflicts which arose long retarded the progress of the colony, and have left a legacy of bitterness to this day. Cape Colony had been captured from the Dutch allies of Napoleon, and, when

peace was made in 1815, Holland finally sold it to Britain for £6,000,000. Britain wanted it mainly as a calling-place for ships on the long voyage to India, and for many years almost the only white inhabitants were the Dutch farmers, who cultivated the soil in primitive style with slave-labour. These "Boers" were much aggrieved when slavery was abolished in all British possessions (1833), the more so as the sum offered them was quite inadequate. At about the same time they were faced with another difficulty—the attacks of warlike Kaffirs from the north. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor of Cape Colony, drove the Kaffirs back, and annexed a strip of territory to be a sort of "No Man's Land" between them and Cape Colony. But when Lord Glenelg, the Home Secretary, heard of this he felt that the Kaffirs had been wronged. The annexation was cancelled and D'Urban recalled. The Boers were disgusted. They felt that the British Government had not only robbed them of the labour necessary to till their farms, but had shown itself unwilling even to defend them against their savage enemies. So some of them decided to seek new homes for themselves in the wilderness, where they would be able to make their own arrangements both as to labour and to protection. This exodus was known as *The Great Trek*. A number of families put all their movable property in their great ox-wagons and set out northwards, driving their herds before them. Some settled down beyond the Orange River, but others pushed on until they had crossed the Vaal.

But their farmsteads were so scattered that they were quite unable to organise any effective defence against the Kaffir raids; and this left Cape Colony itself exposed to similar attacks. So Sir Harry Smith, the new Governor, decided to annex the new Boer territories (1847). For a few years South Africa enjoyed peace and quiet; but then there was another change of policy in the British Government. As we have seen, our statesmen were very ready to rid themselves of the responsibility for governing overseas possessions, which they felt were more trouble than they were worth. In 1852, therefore, they recog-

nised the complete independence of the Transvaal Republic by the *Sand River Convention* ; and two years later the *Bloemfontein Convention* did the same for the Orange Free State.

But this was far from being the end of the story, as we shall see.

§ 302. CANADA—LORD DURHAM'S REPORT.—One reason why the British Government had been so ready to grant rights of self-government to Australia and New Zealand was that recent events in Canada had given it a new conception of the relationship between the colonies and the mother-country. Trouble had arisen there through much the same causes as those which had led to the War of Independence. Under Pitt's Canada Act (§ 241) each of the provinces had a Governor and a Council nominated by the Home Government, and a Legislative Assembly elected by the colonists. Councils and Assemblies had got at loggerheads owing to the Canadians' resentment at the power thus given to members of the British ruling class, who had no personal interest in the country. And this feeling was accentuated by the fact that the Government made huge grants of the best land to these "outsiders," and to the Church—a Church to which few of the colonists belonged, inasmuch as the people of Quebec were almost all French Catholics, while the Ontarians were mostly Scottish Presbyterians. In 1837 these discontents broke out into half-hearted rebellions in both provinces. The risings were easily put down by the officials on the spot ; but the Government were too wise to let matters stop there. They sent out a Special Commissioner to clear up the effects of the trouble, to inquire into their underlying causes, and to suggest permanent remedies. Furthermore, they took the bold step of appointing as Commissioner *Lord Durham* (1792-1840), one of the most prominent members of the Radical Imperialist group.

Durham was a man of that high-minded, energetic, determined type which has done so much to build up the Empire. He began by issuing a series of Ordinances, banishing the

leading rebels on pain of death without trial, and pardoning the others. He then set about inquiring into the political situation and the state of public opinion, and drew up a Report to the Government. But before he had completed his task the Ministry intervened. Shocked at his high-handed proceedings, they disowned his actions and cancelled his Ordinances. He resigned his post and came home ; and his death in the following year was said to be hastened by his mortification at this treatment.

It was said after his death that he had " made an empire but marred a career." The suggestions contained in his famous Report (1839) were the starting-point of a line of policy which has led to the establishment of the British Commonwealth of Nations as it exists to-day. He recommended that the provinces should be joined under a Government which would be dependent on the support of an elected Parliament ; and he declared that the only way to keep the colonies permanently loyal is to let them govern themselves with a minimum of interference from the Home Government (N211).

Unfortunately the union of the provinces revived the jealousy felt by the French *habitants* for the British immigrants who now began to swarm into Ontario, since the numerical superiority of the latter gave them complete control over the Government. Moreover, for some years it seemed as if the geographical and economic situation would sooner or later make the provinces join the United States. That this tendency was overcome was largely due to the statesmanship of Sir John Macdonald. He saw that the only way to make the provinces strong enough to resist the attraction of their great neighbour was to join them in a federal union, and make this union an independent nation in free partnership with the mother-country. This ideal was embodied in the *British North America Act* of 1867. The Dominion Government which it set up has control over all Canadian affairs except purely local matters, which are administered by Provincial Councils. The British Government is represented merely by a Governor-General, who plays much the part that is played in the British Constitution by the King.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE SECOND REFORM ACT

1858-1867

§ 303. ANOTHER DERBY-DISRAELI INTERLUDE.—Lord Palmerston, having brought the country successfully through the Crimean War, kept the Premiership for the rest of his life, except for one short period in 1858-9. His temporary fall from favour was due to a curious lapse from his general line of policy. Early in 1858 an attempt was made on the life of the Emperor Napoleon III in Paris, and it was found that the plot had been hatched and the bomb manufactured in London. The Emperor's personal supporters, especially among the army officers, expressed great indignation that the British Government seemed unable to take effective steps to prevent such nefarious activities. One might have expected that "Pam"—usually so ready to put foreigners "in their place"—would have told them that Britain could manage her affairs without their advice; but he had always been a great admirer of the Bonaparte adventurer (§ 291), and he now tried to gratify him by bringing forward a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, stiffening up the law against such offences. But Parliament was indignant at this "truckling to the foreigner," and threw the Bill out, whereupon Palmerston was forced to resign.

Lord Derby and his henchman Disraeli were once more placed in office through a disagreement among their opponents (§ 292); but their tenure lasted little longer than on the first occasion. They passed a Bill making Jews eligible for Parliament, and they reorganised the government of India after the Mutiny; but when they dissolved Parliament the General Election went against them, and they had to resign after less than a year of office.

Lord Palmerston now formed his second Ministry, with Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary and Gladstone as Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer. Thus Gladstone, who had begun his political life as a Tory, had thrown in his lot with the Whig-Liberals. He had to choose one party or the other if he intended to remain in public life, and it was impossible for him to return to the main body of the Tories so long as its most prominent personality was Disraeli. For the Peelites considered that he had "stabbed Peel in the back" over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and could never forgive him for it (§ 287). Moreover, Gladstone's outlook became more and more liberal as he grew older; and the House of Commons was for the next twenty years an arena for a sort of gladiatorial contest between him and Disraeli.

§ 304. THE TRIUMVIRATE.—Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone were such outstanding figures in this second Palmerston Government (1859-65) that it is sometimes called the "Triumvirate Ministry." But they were really rather an ill-assorted trio. The only matter on which there was cordial agreement between them was sympathy for the "*Risorgimento*"—the great patriotic movement by which the Italians, led by Garibaldi and Cavour, became a united nation under King Victor Emanuel of Sardinia. But apart from this, Lord John never quite got over his jealousy of Palmerston, while Gladstone disliked his aggressive attitude towards foreign Powers.

The Prime Minister had taken to heart his rebuff over the Conspiracy Bill, and he never risked his popularity in the same way again. Indeed, his attitude towards France went from one extreme to the other. The British public had got the idea into its head that Napoleon III meant to attack Britain sooner or later. Everything that he did or did not do was regarded as evidence of some dark design on his part. The country was seized by a "war scare." Volunteer corps were raised—the original form of our present-day "Territorial Army"; and there was a loud demand that the fortifications of our naval ports should be strengthened. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was most anxious to avoid the expense involved by

these warlike preparations. Rigid economy and the husbanding of the national resources had become a leading passion with him (N201). His Budget of 1860 was called "The Crown and Summit" of the Free Trade Policy which he had inherited from his master, Peel. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had made it impossible for him to wipe out the Income Tax, as he had hopefully predicted in 1853 (§ 292); but trade was so prosperous that the revenue was increasing (as he said in his speech on this occasion) "by leaps and bounds," and he was therefore able to reduce taxation still further. Two of his most important steps in this direction were the abolition of the Paper Duties and a *Commercial Treaty with France* (1860). He called the Paper Duties a "tax on knowledge," because they made books and newspapers dear. The Lords rejected his measure abolishing the duties, but he circumvented them by tacking it on to his next Budget, which they could not constitutionally touch. The Commercial Treaty was negotiated in the course of some informal discussions between the French Emperor and Richard Cobden, the great apostle of Free Trade. Arrangements were made for each country to lower its duties on the staple products of the other, the general effect being that British hardware was exchanged for French wines and silks. From the point of view of Gladstone and Cobden, it killed two birds with one stone—it promoted the cause of Free Trade and it counteracted the "war scare" by bringing the two countries into closer commercial relationship.

§ 305. THE MOVEMENT FOR "REFORM."—The subject on which there was the sharpest division in the Cabinet was Parliamentary Reform. We have seen that the Act of 1832 had enfranchised the middle classes, but had left the working-man as voteless as before. The Chartists had agitated for a further reform (§ 288), but the Whigs had been as determined as the Tories in resisting it, and the movement had died down. Nobody had been more opposed to it than Lord John Russell—in fact, the Radicals had nicknamed him "Finality Jack," because he

had stated so emphatically that the measure of 1832 was as far as he was prepared to go in the matter. But as time went on he had come to see that further reform was both just and necessary. He made several vain attempts to put such measures through. Gladstone was now such a whole-hearted Liberal that he also took up the cause ; and another ardent supporter of it (outside the Cabinet) was John Bright, the famous Radical orator.

There was one formidable obstacle to it, however. Lord Palmerston was, as we have seen, as " conservative " in home affairs as he was " liberal " in support of foreign movements for constitutional government (§ 290). Being head of a Liberal Government, he could not very well oppose reform openly ; but he was so half-hearted about it that there was little chance of such a drastic change in the Constitution being carried as long as he was head of the Government.

But in 1865 he died, after a parliamentary life extending over sixty years, of which nearly fifty had been spent in office. Russell succeeded to the Premiership, and naturally the first thing he and Gladstone did was to bring in a Reform Bill. It was quite a moderate measure, and would only have enfranchised about half a million new voters. But the Tory Opposition fought it tooth and nail, and so did a considerable number of the Liberals themselves. Bright likened these latter to the discontented Israelites who had flocked to support King David in the Cave of Adullam ;¹ and ever since then a section of a party which breaks away from the main body over some particular question has been called a " cave." When the measure came before the House, the combination of Tories under Disraeli and " Adullamites " under Robert Lowe was sufficient to outvote the Government, and Russell resigned.

§ 306. " A LEAP IN THE DARK."—Thus the Tories found themselves once more in office owing to a split among their opponents. This third " Derby-Disraeli Interregnum " carried

¹ 1 Samuel, chapter 22.

through just one notable measure—but that one was sensational indeed. Having obtained office by defeating the very moderate Reform Bill of the Liberals, it passed a far more sweeping one itself!

The explanation of this strange episode is really quite simple. Disraeli had never liked the middle-class rule which had been imposed upon the country by the Act of 1832. In his younger days he had started a movement which he called "Young England," to make the old aristocracy the leaders of the nation, ruling in the interests of the working-class and supported by them. He was therefore not opposed in principle to parliamentary reform which would swamp the power of the middle class by giving votes to the "lower orders." He had hitherto opposed it mainly because it had been advocated by the Whig-Liberals; but he now saw an opportunity of putting it through himself, and so (as he hoped) gaining the support of the new voters for his schemes of "Tory Democracy." Until the last year or so the working-classes had shown little interest in the subject; but it seemed as if the rejection of Russell's Bill in 1866 had stirred up an urgent demand for it. Great mass meetings, especially in the north and midlands, were stirred to enthusiasm by the oratory of Bright and Gladstone, and a tidal wave of enthusiasm was forming like that which had carried through the Bill of 1832. Disraeli did not see why his opponents should have a monopoly of reform, and determined to gain the credit of passing it for his own party.

His chief difficulty was with his colleagues. Lord Derby and his friends were not so nimble-minded as Disraeli. They had always opposed reform, and could not quite follow his sudden change in tactics. He therefore had to content himself with a very modest proposal, which would not have enfranchised more than 300,000 new voters. But the Liberals now saw a new means of getting their way. Led by Gladstone, they brought forward a series of resolutions which quite altered the character of the Bill—ending with one which gave the vote to practically all householders in boroughs and enfranchised twice as many

people as their own Bill of the year before. The House passed these amendments, and Disraeli had to choose between accepting them or dropping the Bill altogether. He was so anxious to get it through that he adopted the former alternative, despite the doubts of his colleagues. Of course, the rank and file of the Conservative party could not very well vote against a measure brought forward by their own Government, and the support of the Gladstonian Liberals made its success certain.

In effect, the Reform Act of 1867 merely gave the vote to the more “ respectable ” type of working-class people in the towns (N219). Nevertheless, many public men were seriously alarmed. Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, called the measure “ a leap in the dark ”—no one could see what would be the outcome. Thomas Carlyle spoke of it as “ shooting Niagara ”—taking a mad plunge into the whirlpool of democracy. Lord Cranborne (one of the leaders among the younger Conservatives, afterwards Lord Salisbury) said that for a Conservative Government to pass such a measure was “ a piece of political dishonesty unexampled in our history.” And Coventry Patmore described 1867 as :

“ The year of the great crime
When the false English nobles and their Jew,
By God demented, slew
The trust they stood twice pledged to keep from wrong.”

NOTES ON PERIOD IX (1815-1867)

SOVEREIGNS OF BRITAIN

GEORGE III (1760-1820).

(But he had been blind and insane since 1811.)

GEORGE IV (1820-1830).

WILLIAM IV (1830-1837).

VICTORIA (1837-1901).

CHIEF FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE : LOUIS XVIII (1814-1824).

The pre-Revolution line of Bourbon is restored.

CHARLES X (1824-1830).

Overthrown by the Revolution of 1830.

LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830-1848).

Constitutional monarchy, overthrown by Revolution of 1848.

SECOND REPUBLIC (1848-1852).

With Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as President. Overthrown by the *coup d'état*.

NAPOLÉON III (Emperor).

The Second Empire (1852-1870).

No. 189.—CAUSES OF SOCIAL UNREST (1815-20).

(1) THE WASTE OF WAR.

War expends wealth unproductively. For a time it gives a false appearance of prosperity—high wages and profits. But *it all has to be paid for*, sooner or later. Hence there are always "bad times" after a war.

(2) REACTION AFTER WAR STIMULUS.

War stimulates production; but much of the capital thus sunk becomes a dead loss when peace returns. The fact that the Industrial Revolution was at its height during these years accentuated this factor.

(3) LABOUR MARKET FLOODED with discharged soldiers and sailors.

There were no pensions or war-gratuities in those days.

(4) SHORT-SIGHTED ECONOMIC POLICY of Parliament.

The imposition of the Corn Law (1815) and the removal of the

Income Tax (1816) raised the cost of living (§ 268), especially for the working-class.

(N.B.—*An impoverished working-class means lack of consuming-power, and therefore a lack of demand for commodities.*)

No. 190.—THE GOVERNMENT'S METHODS OF DEALING WITH SOCIAL UNREST.

The Government was liable to panic because (i) there was no regular police system; and (ii) it was still haunted by the dread of "Jacobinism."

- (a) Spies and *agents provocateurs* employed to hunt out conspiracies. Such persons always tend to return alarmist reports.
 - (b) Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. One of the Briton's great safeguards against governmental oppression.
 - (c) Radical agitators were silenced—as far as possible. "Orator" Hunt imprisoned; Cobbett driven (for a time) to America.
 - (d) The Six Acts (1819–20).
 - (a) Act to prevent unauthorised military training. (Still in force.)
 - (b) Act authorising magistrates to seize arms. (In force till 1822.)
 - (c) Act to prevent delay in dealing with crimes of violence.
 - (d) Act to prevent "seditious meetings." (In force for five years.)
 - (e) Act prescribing heavier penalties for "seditious libels."
 - (f) Act to compel certain publications to bear a Government stamp, which raised the price. (Aimed particularly at Cobbett's *Register*.)
- (N.B.—Some of these Acts were inroads on the Briton's traditional rights to freedom of speech; but even after they were passed the nation enjoyed far greater freedom than any other in Europe.)

Also, let us remember that it was the Government's first duty to keep order in critical times, and that it did so at the cost of very little bloodshed.

No. 191.—CASTLEREAGH (1769–1822) AND CANNING (1770–1827)—A COMPARISON.

Same age; both served political apprenticeship under Pitt.

But Castlereagh belonged to the "inner circle" of aristocratic politicians, whereas Canning had to make his way with few social advantages.

DURING THE WAR.—*Canning* made a mark as Foreign Secretary, especially by the seizure of the Danish fleet after the Treaty of Tilsit (1807). *Castlereagh* as Secretary at War was largely responsible for the country undertaking the Peninsular War (also for the disastrous Walcheren Expedition), (1809).

PERSONAL RIVALRY.—(They fought a duel over the Walcheren Expedition.) *Canning* was a brilliant speaker; *Castlereagh* a halting, ineffective one. *Canning* was inclined to bold, enterprising measures—rather "flashy"; *Castlereagh* was steadier, more cautious—rather "wooden."

LATER POLITICAL CAREERS.—*Castlereagh* dominated Lord Liverpool's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary and Leader of the Commons (1812-22):

Helped to organise the overthrow of Napoleon; represented Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna, and carried on foreign policy during the first years of the peace. Was held responsible for measures of repression with which he really had little to do (N190).

Canning dominated Lord Liverpool's Cabinet as Foreign Secretary and Leader of the Commons (1822-27). (Prime Minister from February 1827 till his death in August of that year.)

Freed Britain from "European entanglements," but favoured the liberty of Portugal and Spanish America. Was held responsible for measures of domestic reform with which he really had little to do (§ 272).

FOREIGN POLICY.—*Castlereagh* laid down the policy of refusing to assist other Powers in putting down "revolutionary" movements for constitutional government.

He really pricked a slow puncture in the Holy Alliance at its first Congress (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818).

The fact that *Canning* went further and in several cases actually supported the rebels was mainly due to the fact that in these later cases British commercial interests were at stake.

E.g. if Portugal and the South American Republics had fallen under the sway of France and Spain, British trade with them would have suffered.

(In this matter there was not so much difference between them as is generally supposed.)

No. 192.—REFORMS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

First Period (1820-22). *Castlereagh* still the dominant influence in the Liverpool Ministry: no reforms.

Second Period (1822-27).—(a) *Canning* the dominant influence in the Liverpool Ministry ("The Enlightened Tories"): *Canning* pursues a "liberal" Foreign Policy; (b) Peel humanises the Criminal Law; (c) Huskisson and Robinson reorganise the Customs tariff; (d) the Combination Acts are repealed.

Third Period (1828-30).—The "Old Tories" in office again under Wellington: (e) the Metropolitan Police established; (f) the Test and Corporation Acts repealed; (g) the Catholic Relief Act passed.

Note that (d) was mainly due to a private member; (f) was forced through by public opinion; (g) was forced upon the Government by fear of civil war in Ireland.

No. 193.—HUMANITARIANISM.

From about 1790 there was a great increase in philanthropic interest in the welfare of the unfortunate. It was the outcome of two dis-

similar causes : (i) the Wesleyan Movement, and (ii) the doctrines of the French Revolution. (Both insisted on the essential equality of man.) The following are some of its most notable manifestations :

(a) The founding of Missionary Societies.

The British and Foreign Bible Society (Dissenters) in 1799, and the Church Missionary Society (Church of England) in 1804.

(b) Prison Reform.

Persons of both sexes and all ages jumbled together in horribly insanitary gaols. The pioneers who drew attention to the evils were Elizabeth Fry and John Howard.

(c) Criminal Law Reform.

See § 274.—The pioneer in this matter was Samuel Romilly, who strove by writings and parliamentary action to arouse a more enlightened view. He died in 1818 before there was any improvement ; but he had educated public opinion, and paved the way for Peel's improvements in the prison system and in the criminal law.

(d) The Abolition of Slavery.

William Wilberforce (1759-1833) was the most famous pioneer in this direction. The Slave Trade was abolished in 1807 (§ 259) ; and in 1833 slavery was forbidden in British dominions. The Government voted £20,000,000 to buy out the slave-owners, the slaves being bound to work for their former owners for seven years for wages.

(e) The Factory Acts.

Lord Shaftesbury was the most famous worker in this cause. Several attempts had been made to deal with the evils of child labour before the famous Act of 1833 (§ 282).

(f) Elementary Education.

Practically no provision for the education of the poor. (England was far behind America, Germany, and Scotland in this matter.) In 1803 the Dissenters organised a " British and Foreign Schools Society " to raise funds for the purpose, especially in the new industrial towns ; and the Church of England followed suit with " The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England." In 1833 the Government made grant of £20,000 to aid these societies. The grant was gradually increased from year to year, and in 1839 inspectors were appointed to see that the money was properly used.

No. 194.—WHY PARLIAMENTARY REFORM CAME WHEN IT DID, AND NOT EARLIER.

(a) The fear of Jacobinism was fading away.

Some sections of the community who wanted Reform (the Whig Party, who found it a useful line of attack against the Tories, and the well-to-do people who felt it unjust that they should be shut out of political power by the land-owning class) had long hesitated to go all out for it, lest an increase of power for the " lower orders " should result in revolution.

(b) Most of the leading "die-hard" Tories who had dominated the Government had died (*e.g.* Castlereagh, Eldon, Sidmouth).

The younger generation (*e.g.* Palmerston, Melbourne, Stanley) left the Tory Party when, in 1830, Wellington declared that he would never support even a partial reform of Parliament; for they felt that this was a lost cause (§ 279).

(c) The death of George IV (1830) removed an implacable opponent of every liberal idea.

His brother, who now became William IV, was friendly with the Whigs.

(d) The Revolution of July (1830) established in France a constitutional monarchy in which the middle class were the preponderating influence.

Britain had always prided herself on setting an example to the world in these matters, but she was now falling behind France.

No. 195.—THE PROS AND CONS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The following is a summary of the kind of arguments used by both sides in the endless discussions, in Parliament and out of it, on the subject:

CON.—The British Constitution is a precious heirloom handed down by our forefathers. It has carried the country through manifold dangers and difficulties, including the recent war. Why meddle with it?

PRO.—To bring the Constitution up to date is not to destroy it. Timely repairs do not destroy a fabric—they preserve it. You anti-reformers have held up gradual reform for decades—something pretty drastic is therefore needed.

PRO.—The present state of things (*e.g.* two members for Old Sarum, with no inhabitants; and none for Birmingham, with 200,000) is absurdly unjust and illogical.

CON.—This constitution-building to fit preconceived ideas of "justice" and "logic" is just what the Jacobins did in France—and you know the result!

PRO.—Under the present system, millions of taxpayers are unrepresented. What about the sacred principle (for which our ancestors fought and died) of "No Taxation without Representation"?

CON.—All classes *are* represented—indirectly, at any rate; for public opinion, even if not always expressed in votes, has great influence on the Government. The present system may be unjust to individual persons and places, but the variety of franchise ensures that every class is represented somewhere.

PRO.—The nation is so determined to have reform that if it is not granted there will be a revolution.

CON.—If you allow yourself to be bullied into reform by agitation, where are you going to stop?

CON.—It is only right that the "landed interest" should have a preponderating influence; for landowners have "a stake in the country"—they have everything to lose by bad government.

PRO.—Have not business men, factory owners, merchants, bankers, professional men, a stake in the country? They have even more to lose by bad government.

CON.—Agriculture, so strongly represented in Parliament, is the backbone of the country—always has been, and always will be.

PRO.—You are out of date! The Industrial Revolution has changed all that within the last fifty years. In future, the backbone of the country will not be farming, but manufactures and commerce.

The reformers also stirred up the working-class to demand the Bill by the argument that when they were represented in Parliament all their hardships would be swept away (§ 269). It was called "The Bill to give Everybody Everything."

No. 196.—ROBERT OWEN (1771-1858).

THE FOUNDER OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM.—Beginning as a draper's assistant in London, he prospered by thrift and enterprise, and by the time he was thirty was manager and part-owner of important cotton mills at *New Lanark*. He imbibed from the French Revolutionists a faith in the essential goodness of mankind, if only they were given a fair chance. He made his mills a model factory, where employees worked reasonable hours amid pleasant surroundings for a living wage. But no other millowners would follow his example; nor could he induce Parliament to pass an effective Factory Act to compel them to do so. So he sold his business interests, and devoted the rest of his life to attempts to improve the lot of the working-class by direct methods—*i.e.* without parliamentary action.

His first attempts, in the direction of co-operation and communal living, all failed. He then tried to bring about the millennium by means of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union (§ 288); but this also broke down. So did all his later schemes; but he did much to inspire the working-class with the spirit of common action and self-help.

No. 197.—THE FIRST GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1832-1841).

1832.—Great Reform Act (§ 280).

1833.—Abolition of Slavery (N193); Factory Act (§ 282).

1834.—Poor Law Amendment Act (§ 283); First Government Grant for Education (N225).

1835.—Municipal Reform Act (N224).

1836.—Act removing Church monopoly of marriage.

1837.—Irish Tithes commuted (§ 284); First Limited Liability Act (§ 289).

1839.—State Control of Schools begins (N225).

1840.—Penny Postage; Lord Durham's Report on Canada (§ 302).

No. 198.—CHARTISM (1835-1849).

An agitation for a reform of Parliament that would give the working-class more influence on the legislature (§ 288). Their demands were as follows :

(a) Household Suffrage.

By which the head of every household, however small, was to have the vote. (Granted by later Reform Acts—1867, 1884, and 1919.)

(b) Vote by Ballot.

So that people could vote in secret, without being intimidated by landlords or employers. (Granted in 1872.)

(c) Equal Electoral Districts.

Instead of some constituencies being enormously larger than others. (Brought about by various later Acts, especially the Redistribution Act of 1885.)

(d) Abolition of Property Qualification of Members.

So that working-men should be eligible as M.P.'s (Granted in 1858.)

(e) Payment of Members.

With the same object. (Granted in 1911.)

(f) Annual General Elections.

Which would compel members to study the wishes of their constituents. (Never granted, and never likely to be—troublesome and expensive.)

No. 199.—WHAT PEEL DID FOR BRITAIN.

1819.—As Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Currency, he arranged the return to cash payments by the Bank of England, suspended during the war.

This stabilisation of the currency did much to end the post-war "slump."

1822-7.—As Home Secretary in Liverpool's Ministry, he humanised the Criminal Law (§ 274).

1828-30.—As Home Secretary in Wellington's Ministry, he founded the modern police system (§ 274).

1830-41.—As Leader of the Opposition, he created the Conservative Party out of the ruins of the old Toryism.

He set forth its programme in "The Tamworth Manifesto" (§ 281).

1842-6.—As Prime Minister, he abolished many of the Customs Duties that were stifling foreign trade, culminating in the Repeal of the Corn Laws (§ 287).

No. 200.—PEEL'S THREE "BETRAYALS" OF HIS PARTY.

I. (1828).—He and the Duke passed Catholic Emancipation, which they had taken office to prevent. This broke up the old Tory party.

But what else could he do? There would have been civil war in Ireland if he had stood out against it.

II. (1832).—He accepted with little demur the Reform Bill, though he and his party were pledged to oppose it.

But what else could he do? The current of public opinion was so strong for the Bill that further resistance would have been political suicide.

III. (1846).—He repealed the Corn Laws which he had been put into office to maintain. This split the Conservatives, and they were out of office (except for three short interludes) until 1874.

But what else could he do? He had become convinced that the Corn Laws would have to go; and the potato famine in Ireland forced his hand.

No. 201.—GLADSTONE AS FINANCE MINISTER.

Three main principles:

(a) Free Trade (N202).

(b) Economy—to keep taxation as low as possible, so that money might be allowed to “fructify” (as he said), by leaving it in people’s pockets to enable capitalists to invest and consumers to buy.

This made him very reluctant to spend money on armaments (§ 304).

(c) Rigid account-keeping. He devised methods of auditing the public accounts to ensure that not a penny was spent otherwise than as authorised by Parliament.

No. 202.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE TRADE.

1776.—ADAM SMITH enunciated the gospel in his *Wealth of Nations* (§ 239).

1784–8.—PITT made a beginning of carrying it into effect.

He simplified the Book of Rates, making smuggling unprofitable; and put through a Commercial Treaty with France (§ 239).

But war expenditure afterwards compelled him to pile up more duties; and confusion was worse confounded after 1815 (§ 268).

1823–5.—ROBINSON and HUSKISSON simplified the duties again.

Huskisson (as President of the Board of Trade) started the policy of preferential duties for the colonies, and obtained power to modify the Navigation Laws (§ 275).

But under the Whigs (1830–41) the fiscal system again fell into confusion—trade was strangled by complicated duties. A Committee set up in 1839 found that of 500 articles taxed, 10 produced four-fifths of the revenue.

1842–6.—PEEL adopted the policy of increasing revenue by reducing duties.

In the course of four Budgets he swept away 250 duties and reduced many more. This policy culminated in the repeal of the Corn Laws (§ 285).

The Protectionist Tories, under Derby and Disraeli, broke away from Peel on this issue ; but when they were in office (1852) the benefits of the policy were so apparent that they did not venture to reverse it (§ 292).

1853-65.—GLADSTONE carried Peel's policy to its logical conclusion.

Especially in his famous Budgets of 1853 and 1860. Two notable examples of his work in this direction were the repeal of the Paper Duties ("the taxes on knowledge") and the Commercial Treaty with France (1860), (§ 304).

NO. 203.—MOTIVES OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND SARDINIA IN THE CRIMEAN WAR.

BRITAIN.—Hostility to Russia, due to (a) growing apprehension lest her expansion should upset the "Balance of Power" and enable her to interfere with India ; (b) anger at the Czar's treatment of the Poles, and at his support of Austria in crushing the Hungarians ; (c) weariness of "the long, long canker of peace" (Tennyson's *Maud*, 1854).

FRANCE.—Napoleon III sought to strengthen himself by reviving the military glory of France. He particularly wanted to avoid his uncle's mistake of antagonising Britain, and he now had a chance of making war with Britain as partner. Moreover, he had a personal grudge against the Czar, who refused to treat him as an equal.

SARDINIA.—Cavour wanted to take part in the Peace Conference after the war, so as to gain the support of a Great Power for his projected attempt to create a Kingdom of Italy under his master, King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia.

NO. 204.—EVENTS LEADING TO THE CRIMEAN WAR.

July 1853.	Russian troops occupy Danubian Principalities. Vienna Note (mediation of Powers) accepted by Czar, rejected by Sultan.
October 1853.	French and British fleets pass Dardanelles "to protect Constantinople." Turkey declares war on Russia.
November 1853.	Turkish fleet destroyed at Sinope.
January 1854.	French and British fleets enter Black Sea.
February 1854.	French and British Governments demand evacuation of Principalities.
March 1854.	Britain and France declare war on Russia.
April 1854.	Britain and France make a Treaty of Alliance.

NO. 205.—DID BRITAIN "DRIFT" INTO THE CRIMEAN WAR?

Division of the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet : Aberdeen and Gladstone for the Czar ; Palmerston and Russell for the Sultan.

If the Czar had known that Britain would come in against him, he would have backed down, but he counted on Aberdeen and Gladstone.

If the Sultan had thought that Britain would not support him, he would have backed down, but he counted on Palmerston and Russell, and on the British ambassador at the Porte, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who was a furious anti-Russian.

Lord Aberdeen was forced to agree to the steps which led to war (*e.g.* sending the fleet into the Black Sea) *as the sole hope of maintaining peace*. If he had refused, Palmerston and Russell would have resigned, the Ministry would have collapsed, and a new Ministry formed, which would have made war at once.

(*N.B.*—This was about the only subject on which Palmerston and Lord John were agreed. Palmerston had just threatened to resign if the Cabinet went on with Russell's Bill for Parliamentary Reform.)

No. 206.—THE COURSE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

- September 1854. Allied troops land in Crimea.
Battle of the Alma.
Siege of Sebastopol begins.
- October 1854. Battle of Balaklava. (In defence of British sea base.)
- November 1854. Battle of Inkerman. (An attempt by Russians to raise the siege.)
- January 1855. Sardinia enters the war.
- March 1855. Death of Czar Nicholas II.
- June 1855. Unsuccessful attack by Allies on Malakoff and Redan redoubts.
- August 1855. Battle of Tchernaya. (French and Sardinians repel Russian sortie.)
- September 1855. French capture Malakoff. British capture, but fail to hold, Redan.
Russians evacuate Sebastopol the next day.

No. 207.—THE RESULTS OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

By the Treaty of Paris (1855) the Czar abandoned all claim to interfere on behalf of the Balkan Christians, but the Sultan undertook to treat them better; the Sultan was guaranteed his possessions in Europe by the Powers; and the Czar agreed that the Black Sea should be "neutralised" (*i.e.* no warships to be kept there).

But none of these "results" were of any permanent value.—Turkey ill-treated the Balkan Christians as before, causing a rebellion in 1876 (§ 312). Russia turned her attention to Asiatic expansion, making Britain more nervous about India than ever. The Danubian provinces gained their independence after all—formed Kingdom of Rumania in 1861—in spite of the Powers' guarantee of the "integrity" of Turkish dominions. The Czar repudiated the neutrality of the Black Sea in 1871, when neither France nor Britain were in a position to resist him (§ 310).

(And Britain lost all chance of the promised remission of the Income Tax !)

No. 208.—BRITISH INDIA : V. LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-1856).

THE LAST OF THE FOUR GREAT EMPIRE-BUILDERS IN INDIA.—Able, energetic, inspired by the enthusiasm for “progress” which was the spirit of the age in Britain. It seemed to him that the best service he could render India would be to bring as much of it as possible under British rule.

ANNEXATIONS :

(a) *The Punjab*.—Under his predecessor, Lord Hardinge, the First Sikh War had ended in the province becoming a Protectorate. But this had broken down, and after a Second Sikh War (Battles of Chilianwalla and Gujerat), Dalhousie determined to annex it. Sent the brothers John and Henry Lawrence to administer it, and under his inspiration they made it a model province—with good law courts, low taxation, prosperity and contentment. (The Sikhs stood by the British throughout the Mutiny.)

(b) *Burma*.—The King of Burma had ill-treated British merchants and refused all redress. Burmese War (1852) resulted in annexation of Lower Burma.

(c) *Doctrine of Lapse*.—Dalhousie revived the old custom of Hindu law, that when a ruler died without heirs his dominions might be brought directly under the Paramount Power—formerly the Great Mogul, but now the East India Company. Under this law he annexed seven small states in Central India.

(d) *Oudh*.—The Vizier of Oudh persisted in misgoverning and oppressing his subjects in spite of repeated warnings, so Dalhousie annexed it. (Thus the whole of the Ganges valley was now under the Company's rule.)

“THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION” :

(a) *Roads*.—Especially the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Peshawur.

(b) *Telegraphs*.—4000 miles of line laid under Dalhousie's rule.

(c) *Railways*.—He devised an efficient scheme and opened the first section.

(d) *Postal System*.—Cheaper even than the Penny Post recently established in Britain.

(e) *Irrigation*.—Making large areas of land available for food production.

No. 209.—THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

(1) A general feeling of unrest, and of dislike for the disturbing reforms and inventions forced on the country by Dalhousie (N208).

(2) Grievances of the sepoys, especially a suspicion that there was a plot to undermine their religion. Many disconnected circumstances contributed to this fear.

(a) A new order that sepoys must be available for service overseas (e.g. in Burma), which would cause them to “lose caste.”

(b) A new order that prisoners were no longer to be allowed to prepare their own food, which might therefore be polluted by “untouchables.”

(c) The greased cartridges (§ 296).

(d) The confident prediction of missionaries that railways, etc., would enable them to convert all India.

(3) Grievances of the Princes :

- (a) The operation of the " Doctrine of Lapse " (N208).
- (b) The Nana Sahib, whose pension had been stopped.

(4) Other causes :

- (a) British prestige had been shaken by the difficulties of the Crimean War and by a recent failure to gain control of Afghanistan.
- (b) Prophecies by holy men that British supremacy was to last 100 years—and the centenary of Plassey was 1857.
- (c) The Company's troops had been depleted by drafts to fight in Persia.

No. 210.—RESULTS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

(1) The East India Company was abolished, rule being taken over by the British Government.

A Secretary of State took charge of Indian affairs in Cabinet and Parliament, assisted by a Council of expert advisers.

The Governor-General was replaced by a Viceroy, acting under the instructions of the Secretary of State, assisted by Councils which included a certain number of Indians.

(2) The Company's sepoy army was taken into the Queen's service.

But care was taken that in future the proportion of British troops in India should never be outnumbered by the Indian army by more than five to one.

(3) It became a part of the Government's policy to take special care that Indians should have no cause to fear that their religion was being attacked.

A royal proclamation assured the princes and peoples of India that " We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own. . . . Our subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service."

No. 211.—LORD DURHAM'S REPORT ON CANADA (1839).

LAI D DOWN THE PRINCIPLE OF RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS BECOME THE FOUNDATION OF THE MODERN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

His immediate suggestions were :

(a) The union of Upper and Lower Canada under a two-chamber Parliament.

This was carried out at once, by an Act passed by the British Parliament in 1840.

(b) Responsible self-government by means of this Parliament.

Responsible self-government means that the Government is carried on by a Cabinet which has the support of a majority in the Parliament.

This was not granted at once. Wellington said that "local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain are completely incompatible." But it came into *practice* under LORD ELGIN, Governor-General (1846-54), who was Durham's son-in-law, and strongly imbued with his principles. He simply let the Canadian Parliament have its own way, and learn by its own mistakes. "Responsible government" was not *formally* granted until the passing of the BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT of 1867 (§ 302).

EXTRACT FROM DURHAM'S REPORT.—"Perfectly aware of the value of our colonial possessions, and strongly impressed with the necessity of maintaining our connection with them, I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere with their internal legislation. . . . The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are best fitted for conducting their affairs; but at least they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire."

No. 212.—THE PRINCE CONSORT (1819-1861).

Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, Queen Victoria's cousin, married her in 1840. Became a sort of confidential private secretary to her. Studied the problems and welfare of his adopted nation with great earnestness, especially the development of applied science and education. Lacked sense of humour; cared little for sport; was never popular.

Anxious to maintain constitutional position of the Crown—objected to Palmerston's off-hand treatment of the Queen over Foreign Affairs (§ 291).

Was largely responsible for organising the Great Exhibition (§ 289).

Was extremely unpopular during the Crimean War—unjustly accused of being pro-Russian, and of caring only for the interests of Germany in the matter.

Played a valuable part in smoothing over the *Trent* incident (N213).

Died of typhoid (December 1861). Became a sort of sacred legend to the Queen.

No. 213.—BRITAIN AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

The upper classes sided with the South.

Southerners were regarded as "gentlemen" compared with the commercial-minded "Yankees" of New England.

The lower classes sided with the North.

To which their friends had emigrated, there being no scope for white labour in the Southern States.

The Alabama Incident.—The Government "winked at" the building of warships for the Confederate Government in British shipyards.

The *Alabama* was built at Birkenhead to prey on Federal shipping. Much bad feeling caused, and Britain had eventually to pay compensation for all the damage she had done (§ 310).

The Trent Incident.—Envoys to Europe from the Confederate Government in a British ship, the *Trent*, were captured by a Federal warship on the high seas.

Much indignation at this "insult to the flag." Eventually, largely through the good offices of the Prince Consort and the American ambassador, the matter was smoothed over. President Lincoln released the captured envoys.

The Cotton Famine.—The Federal Government blockaded the southern ports, thus preventing the export of cotton, on which the prosperity of Lancashire depended. The people there suffered terrible privations, only partly relieved by public subscription.

Great credit was gained by the work-people, who refrained from any disorder, and would not encourage any movement to stop the war lest this should lead to the perpetuation of slavery.

No. 214.—JOHN BRIGHT (1811–1889).

Quaker-Radical orator. Successful calico-printer. Represented "the Nonconformist Conscience." Took leading part in three famous agitations.

(1) For Repeal of the Corn Laws. (In conjunction with Cobden.)

(2) Against the anti-Russian war fever at the time of the Crimean War. (In conjunction with Cobden.)

In this agitation he sacrificed all the popularity he had gained over the anti-Corn Law agitation.

(3) In favour of Parliamentary Reform (1860–67).

He was a member of Gladstone's Ministries (1868–74 and 1880–85); but opposed Gladstone over Home Rule (§ 318).

No. 215.—HENRY TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON (1784–1865).

TYPICAL OF EARLY VICTORIAN NATIONAL COMPLACENCY AND "COCKSURENESS."

Lived eighty-one years—in Parliament, sixty; in office, fifty; Prime Minister, ten.

Secretary at War under Liverpool (1812–27). Left Tories over "Reform" (§ 279).

Foreign Secretary under Grey, Melbourne, Russell (1830–41).

He revelled in making foreign potentates feel the power of Britain. The following are some typical examples of his foreign policy.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM (1830–1).—When Belgium became independent of Holland he induced Louis Philippe to withdraw his son's candidature for the throne, procured the election of Leopold of Coburg

(relative of English royal family) and prevented the other Powers from interfering with Belgian independence.

THE TWO CHINESE WARS.—In 1840 he crushed the resistance of the Chinese Government, which wanted to prevent the importation of opium from India. In the end, China was compelled to cede Hong Kong and to open five other "Treaty Ports" to British shipping. In 1856 the Chinese Government seized the *Arrow* on a charge of piracy. She was owned and manned by Chinese, but had been registered as a British ship, so this was "an insult to the flag." China offered compensation, but would not apologise. Another cheap war, resulting in an indemnity of £4,000,000 being extracted from China.

THE DON PACIFICO AFFAIR (1850).—Don Pacifico, a Maltese Jew, lost some property in a riot at Athens, and made a preposterously exaggerated claim against the Greek Government. Palmerston backed this claim with a threat of war.

THE DANISH DUCHIES (1863).—He hinted to Denmark that she would have British support in resisting Prussian claim to Schleswig-Holstein, but had to leave them to their fate, for Cabinet and public were averse to war, and the Queen was pro-German.

Got into disfavour with Queen and Prime Minister (Russell) by not consulting them over policy.

Compelled to resign over his unauthorised approval of the *coup d'état* (§ 291).

Home Secretary in Aberdeen Coalition (§ 292).

Furious anti-Russian over the Eastern Question (§ 293).

Succeeded Aberdeen as Prime Minister (1855), (§ 295).

Finished off Crimean War successfully (§ 295).

Defeated over "Conspiracy to Murder Bill" (§ 303).

Prime Minister of the "Triumvirate Ministry" (1859-65), (§ 304).

NO. 216.—RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

There were three remarkable developments of the Church of England during this period :

(1) **THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT.**—Due to the influence of the mission of Wesley (§ 211). After his death his work began to have the effect he always hoped for it—the quickening of the religious life of the Church of England, of which he was a priest.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—Insistence on a personal sense of sin and atonement ; reliance on the Bible ; simplification of worship ; puritanism ; humanitarianism.

MOST OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES.—Wilberforce (N193) ; Shaftesbury (§ 282) ; Glenelg (§ 301).

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "LOW CHURCH" PARTY.

(2) **THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.**—In the 'thirties a series of tracts by various Oxford clergymen appeared, supporting the view that the Anglican Church was a branch of the Catholic Church, and that its clergy had mystic powers handed down through the ages by the Apostolic Succession from the time of the Apostles. "Tract No. 90"

sought to prove that there was nothing contradictory between the Thirty-nine Articles and the doctrines of the Roman Church. This aroused a great outcry, and the Tract had to be withdrawn; but many prominent men went over to the Roman Catholic Church.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—Insistence on the sanctity of Holy Orders, and on the importance of the Sacraments of the Church.

LEADING PERSONALITIES.—John Keble (author of *The Christian Year*); Edward Pusey; J. H. Newman (writer of "Tract No. 90"); and Archdeacon Manning. All these were Anglican clergymen, but the two latter went over to the Roman Catholic Church and later became Cardinals.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "HIGH CHURCH" PARTY.

(3) THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.—Emphasised the application of the Christian faith to everyday life, especially the betterment of the life of the poor—education, housing, sanitation, etc.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—As above. ("*Muscular Christianity*.")

LEADING PERSONALITIES.—Rev. F. D. Maurice (specially connected with women's education); Rev. Charles Kingsley (author of *Alton Locke*, *Westward Ho!* etc.); Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*).

THE ORIGIN OF THE MODERN "BROAD CHURCH" PARTY.

NO. 217.—THE GREAT AGE OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

This period saw greater advance in men's knowledge of the universe, and in their control over its forces, than any similar period in the history of mankind. It was a practical age, much taken up with the creation of wealth; and a great deal of the new knowledge was at once harnessed to this purpose.

GEOLOGY.—Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-3) proved the vast age of the earth, displacing the accepted theory that it was only a few thousand years old.

BIOLOGY.—Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) showed how existing forms of life developed from earlier, simpler forms.

LIGHT.—*Photography* was developed.

HEAT.—Joule demonstrated the Law of the *Conservation of Energy*, which is one of the foundations of modern mechanical engineering.

ELECTRICITY.—Faraday's studies paved the way for *Telegraphy* (1837), first used on the new railways, and the first Atlantic cable was laid in 1866.

METALLURGY.—The *Bessemer process* for making steel (1855) gave Britain a long start in the manufacture of cheap steel of good quality.

MEDICINE.—Pasteur (1855) proved the part played in disease by bacteria, which led to the development of *antiseptic surgery* by Lister. Sir James Simpson developed *anæsthetics* about the middle of the century.

NO. 218.—RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

The 'thirties and 'forties were the great period of railway development.

- 1830.—Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened.
- 1838.—London and Birmingham (afterwards L.N.W.R.).
- 1838.—Great Western.
- 1840.—London and Southampton (afterwards L.S.W.R.).
- 1841.—South Eastern.

These undertakings were the result of private enterprise, owing to the principle of *laissez faire*; hence much waste of capital, in buying out competing lines, etc. But the Government eventually had to step in and regulate them.

1840.—Regulation of Railways Act empowered Board of Trade to inspect railways and their rolling-stock, and to require returns of traffic and of accidents.

1844.—Act empowered Board of Trade to revise rates, and to limit profits, and required every railway to run at least one train a day to every station at the rate of 1d. per mile, not less than 12 miles an hour—"parliamentary trains."

No. 219.—PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM (1815-1867).

Catholic Emancipation (1829).—Made Catholics eligible for Parliament.

First Great Reform Act (1832).—(a) Took away 143 seats from "pocket" and "rotten" boroughs, giving them to large towns hitherto unrepresented, and to the counties; (b) abolished the variegated qualifications for the vote, and established a uniform franchise—in the towns to householders who paid £10 or more in rent, in the counties to possessors of a 40s. freehold and to those who paid £50 or more per annum in rent.

Net result—to enfranchise the upper middle class, and to make an inroad on the monopoly of power hitherto enjoyed by the landed class. Added 500,000 voters, making a total of 1,000,000.

Jews made eligible for Parliament (1858).

Property Qualification abolished (1858).—Hitherto nobody had been eligible to be an M.P. unless he held land to a certain value.

Second Great Reform Act (1867).—Enfranchised in boroughs all householders who paid poor rates, and lodgers who paid £10 or more in rent; in counties all who paid rates on more than £10 assessment.

Net result—to enfranchise artisans, shopkeepers, small farmers. Added 1,000,000, making a total of 2,300,000.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD IX (1815-1867)

1. What were the causes of social discontent in England (1815-20)?
(OC '27, '29, OL '32, LM '32, CWB '32.)
2. Do you consider that the country was subject to a reactionary government in the period from Waterloo to the accession of the Whigs to power?
(OC '29.)
3. What reforms were achieved in the reign of George IV?
(OC '27, LM '31, OC '32.)
4. Describe and compare the foreign policy of Castlereagh and Canning.
(LM '24, '25, LGS '25, OC '29, '31.)
5. Show the part played by Great Britain in (a) the Greek War of Independence, and (b) the struggle for Belgian independence.
(NUJB '32, CWB '32.)
6. To what extent did the Industrial Revolution affect legislation during the period 1815-34?
(LGS '24.)
7. Show how Catholic Emancipation was achieved, indicating the causes which were responsible for the previous political conditions. (LM '24.)
8. What were the difficulties which supporters of the Reform Bill of 1832 had to meet?
(OC '31.)
9. Describe the progress of the movement for parliamentary reform down to the coming into force of the first Reform Act. (OC '32.)
10. What defects in the system of parliamentary representation was the Reform Bill (1832) intended to remedy? In what ways was it not a final settlement?
(NUJB '30, D '31.)
11. Why is the Reform Act of 1832 considered to be of such great importance in the history of England?
(LM '32.)
12. On what grounds did (a) the Whigs, (b) the Radicals advocate parliamentary reform?
(OC '27, LM '32.)
13. In what ways did the country generally benefit by the Reform Bill of 1832?
(OL '32.)
14. Summarise the achievements of the First Reformed Parliament.
(OC '20, NUJB '31, LM '31.)
15. Why was a reform of the Poor Law so urgently needed in the early years of the nineteenth century?
(D '31.)
16. Write an account of (a) the Co-operative movement, (b) the Reform of the Poor Law in 1834.
(NUJB '32.)
17. Why were the Factory Acts so necessary, and what reforms did they introduce?
(D '32.)
18. Outline the history and the aims of the Chartist movement.
(LM '25, OC '29, OL '29, NUJB '30.)
19. Was social discontent responsible for the Chartist movement? Give reasons for your answer.
(NUJB '31.)
20. To what extent has the programme of Chartism since become law?
(D '32.)

21. Discuss the aims and methods of Lord Palmerston.
(LGS '24, OC '29, '30, NUJB '32, UW '32.)
22. On what occasions and with what effect did Lord Palmerston interfere abroad to check tyranny?
(OL '30.)
23. Explain and illustrate the meaning of the statement that Lord Palmerston was Liberal abroad and Conservative at home.
(LGS '25.)
24. Account for and describe the religious revival of the nineteenth century down to the Oxford Movement.
(LGS '25, CL '30.)
25. Discuss the religious movements of 1832-52.
(OL '29.)
26. Sketch and account for the collapse of Protection in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century.
(CWB '32.)
27. Why is Peel considered a great statesman?
(OL '32.)
28. Sketch the history of Peel's Ministry (1841-46).
(LGS '23, NUJB '31.)
29. Estimate Peel's services to (a) his party, (b) his country.
(NUJB '32.)
30. Describe the aims of Sir Robert Peel and the results of his policy.
(OC '30.)
31. Trace the progress of the Free Trade movement in Britain down to 1846.
(NUJB '30, OC '31.)
32. What were the Corn Laws? Describe the agitation for their repeal, and explain how far the fears and hopes of the controversy proved true.
(B '32.)
33. Describe the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851. What lessons did its organisers want to teach?
(UW '31.)
34. Write an account of the Durham Report.
(NUJB '32.)
35. Describe and estimate the importance of the work of Bentinck and Dalhousie on India.
(NUJB '30, '32.)
36. What were the chief events in the history of Canada (1837-67)?
(LM '23, NUJB '30.)
37. Why did Great Britain fight the Crimean War?
(OC '26, '29.)
38. Write an account of the military operations of the Crimean War.
(LM '25.)
39. What effect was produced upon English politics by the Crimean War?
(LM '21.)
40. Examine the causes and chief events of the Indian Mutiny.
(OL '29, LGS '22, OC '27.)
41. Sketch the causes of the Indian Mutiny and account for its collapse.
(LM '23, OC '30, OL '32.)
42. How far have the problems raised by the Indian Mutiny been subsequently settled?
(OC '29, OL '32.)
43. Estimate the importance of the Prince Consort on British home and foreign policy.
(LM '25.)
44. Illustrate the importance of (a) the Irish Potato Famine, (b) Lord Durham's Report, and (c) the seizure of the *Trent*.
(OL '30.)
45. Examine the influence of France on English history (1830-59).
(LM '24.)
46. Give a brief description of the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, and illustrate your account by reference to some leading events in his career.
(LGS '32.)

PERIOD X
DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE
(1867-1914)

From the passing of the Second Reform Bill (1867) to the opening of the World War (1914) we shall find three threads running through our national history: the development of democracy—of government for the people and by the people; increasing consciousness of the Empire and pride in it; and vain efforts to solve the problems which had accumulated through the centuries about the government of Ireland.

CHAPTER LXX
THE SECOND GREAT ERA OF REFORM
1868-1874

§ 307. GLADSTONE TACKLES THE IRISH PROBLEM.—Just after the passing of the Second Reform Bill (1867) the problem of Ireland was brought forcibly to the attention of the public by the "Fenian outrages." In the years following the potato famine (§ 287) thousands of Irish families had emigrated to America. The younger generation had fought in the American Civil War; and now that that war was over they worked up a conspiracy against British rule in Ireland. As usual, there were spies among them, and the Government was able to frustrate their plans for an armed insurrection; but their violent attempts to rescue prisoners at Manchester and Clerkenwell made the English nation feel that it was high time to put an end to grievances which led to such demonstrations of hostility.

Gladstone now took up the study of Irish problems with characteristic intensity, and they remained his chief preoccupation for the rest of his long life. He became convinced that the root of the trouble lay partly in religion and partly in land-holding. (1) The Church of Ireland was a Protestant Episcopal Church, like the Church of England. It enjoyed all sorts of privileges and owned vast wealth, yet it did not minister to the spiritual needs of more than a tenth of the population; for four-fifths of the Irish were Roman Catholics, and half the remaining fifth were Presbyterians. It stood as a symbol for the domination of the English ruling class which the Irish hated so much. (2) The poorer classes in Ireland could not exist without land, for there were no town industries to which they could turn as an alternative occupation. The demand being greater than the supply, landlords could extort almost what terms they chose. The peasants outbid each other by offering impossible rents; and they were liable to be turned out at short notice without a penny of compensation for any improvements they had made in the land.

Though Gladstone was a staunch member of the Church of England, he felt that the privileges of its sister Church in Ireland were unjust. He therefore brought forward resolutions in the House of Commons in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church—that is to say, placing it on an equality with all other religious denominations. Despite the opposition of the Conservative Government, the House of Commons passed these resolutions, whereupon Disraeli dissolved Parliament. He doubtless hoped that the working-class, whom he had enfranchised so recently (§ 306), would show their gratitude by returning him to power; but these new electors felt that the Reform Bill really owed more to Gladstone than to its author; and there was a strong feeling in the country in favour of redressing the grievances of Ireland. So the ensuing General Election gave the Liberals such a substantial majority that Disraeli resigned without waiting to be defeated in the new House.

Gladstone's immediate task was, as he said, "to pacify Ireland." He drew up a Bill for the *Disestablishment of the Irish Church* (1869), followed by another for its disendowment. The latter measure authorised the use of its surplus funds (after provision had been made for reasonable stipends for its clergy) for the relief of distress in Ireland. Then he put through a *Land Act* (1870), which enacted that no tenant could be evicted as long as he paid his agreed rent, and that he should be entitled on ceasing his tenancy to compensation for any improvements he had made in the land.

§ 308. "EDUCATING OUR MASTERS."—But Irish discontent was only one of many problems that were urgently demanding attention at this time; for as long as Palmerston was alive his "Conservatism at home" (§ 290) had hindered all attempts at reform. Gladstone gave a much freer hand to his colleagues; and so many important measures were passed during the next few years that we are reminded of the tremendous legislative activity of the 'thirties (N197). We sometimes speak of this as "The Second Great Era of Reform."

Perhaps the most critical of these questions was national education. Governmental grants in aid of the two "Voluntary Societies" (N193) had gradually increased since 1833; but there were still many districts without schools. Now that the Second Reform Bill had given the working-class the vote, it was positively dangerous that those who would in future control the country's destinies should be unable even to read and write. It was time, as one prominent public man put it, "to educate our masters."

It fell to *W. E. Forster*, the Lord President of the Council in the Gladstone Ministry, to provide a remedy. The first question he had to settle was whether the Government would give increased grants to the existing "Voluntary" schools, and merely fill in the gaps; or withdraw the grants from those schools and make an entirely fresh start. Of course, the former alternative would be the cheaper; but it was open to one

objection. Of the existing voluntary schools, far more had been organised by the Church of England than by the Nonconformist bodies, and the latter strongly objected to large sums of public money being used to propagate doctrines in which they did not believe. These Nonconformists were among the chief supporters of the Liberal party, and the Government could not afford to offend them. So bitter was the opposition that at one time it seemed as if the measure would have to be dropped altogether; but Forster contrived at last to frame a Bill which satisfied a majority of the members. By the *Education Act* (1870) the Voluntary Societies were given another year in which to build schools of their own. After that the Government would build schools wherever none existed, placing these under the control of locally elected "Boards." All these "Public Elementary Schools" were to receive Government grants, and the Board Schools were to draw the rest of their income from local "Education Rates."

There remained the tasks of drawing up courses of instruction, providing for the training of teachers, arranging for the building of hundreds of new schools, and appointing inspectors to see that they were conducted efficiently. Into all this Forster threw himself with such zeal that within a few years the Government was able to make elementary education compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen.

§ 309. CARDWELL'S REFORM OF THE ARMY.—Meanwhile a whole series of drastic reforms were being carried through in the organisation of the Army. The Crimean War (§ 294) and the Indian Mutiny had disclosed the fact that our military system was badly out of date; and the lesson had been driven home by the startling success of the Prussian army in the wars against Austria (1866) and France (1870). One notable difference between the Prussian and British armies was in length of service. In the Prussian army, soldiers were trained for two or three years and then sent back to civil life (where they increased the national wealth instead of being a drain upon it), to be called

up for periodical training to keep them fit for war service ; whereas, in the British army, men enlisted for twenty years, with the result that a large proportion were too old to stand the strain of active service, and there was no reservoir of reserves to call upon in war-time. What was wanted was an army that would be " a manufactory for making soldiers, rather than a costly receptacle for veterans."

This task was undertaken by *Edward Cardwell*, an old Peelite colleague of Gladstone's, who had now become his Secretary for War. We may sum up his measures under four headings : (1) He established a short service system. In future, men were to enlist for twelve years, the first few years to be spent " with the colours " and the remainder " in the reserve." (2) The infantry regiments, hitherto known only by numbers, were to be grouped in pairs, each pair being allotted to a particular recruiting area, of which it took the name and in which it had a *dépôt*.¹ It is a peculiarity of the British army that a considerable proportion of it is always serving overseas (especially in India) ; and the new system enabled one battalion to be on foreign service while the other was at the *dépôt*, bringing its numbers and efficiency up to the required standard. (3) The absurd old system by which officers bought and sold their commissions was abolished. (4) Hitherto the army had been controlled by three or four independent authorities — one for personnel, another for clothing and stores, and so on. Henceforward the Secretary for War, assisted by an Army Council of experienced officers, was to be supreme over the whole military system.

The net result of all this was that army officers began to take a more serious interest in their profession, while service in the ranks became a possible occupation for self-respecting young men, instead of being left to " the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink," as the old Duke once said.

¹ Thus, for instance, the 64th Foot and the 98th Foot were grouped together as " The North Staffordshire Regiment," with a *dépôt* at Lichfield.

§ 310. THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM.—Everything that a Ministry does or does not do is bound to offend some section of the community. (Doubtless each of its actions gratifies some section, too; but this is nothing like such a lively feeling.) Consequently, every Ministry tends to lose favour with the public almost from the moment it takes office; and after it has been in power a few years a general feeling arises in favour of “giving the other side an innings.” Consequently Liberals and Conservatives have been in office, turn and turn about, with a good deal of regularity, ever since the Reform Act of 1867 made Governments dependent on popular favour.

Generally speaking, the more a Ministry does the more voters it alienates, and the Gladstone Ministry of 1868-74 had been particularly active. Disraeli said of them, “They have harassed every profession and worried every interest.” The Disestablishment of the Irish Church made English Churchmen fear that their turn would come next; landlords regarded the Irish Land Act as an inroad on the rights of every property-owner to “do what he likes with his own”; army officers were convinced that Cardwell’s reforms would send the Service “to the dogs”; Dissenters were scandalised because Forster’s Education Act gave support to Church schools out of public money. Then the Government’s Licensing Bill (1872), which limited the number of public-houses and their hours of opening, vexed all connected with the Drink Trade because it went too far, and all Temperance Reformers because it did not go far enough. Some people declared that the Ballot Act (1872), which made voting secret, would “sap the manly independence of the voter.” And so on.

The Government’s foreign policy also laid it open to criticism. The great European event of these years was the Franco-German War, which led to the overthrow of the French Empire under Napoleon III and the creation of a German Empire under William I. Britain had no concern with the quarrel, and took no part in the war beyond extracting a guarantee from both parties that they would keep out of Belgium.

But the Czar took this opportunity to repudiate the clause in the Treaty of Paris (§ 295) which forbade him to keep warships on the Black Sea. Britain had to acquiesce, for it would have been impossible to go to war with Russia without the support of France, and France was now *hors de combat*.

Then there was the *Alabama* affair. This was a warship built in a Birkenhead shipyard for the Southern Government during the American Civil War. She had destroyed thousands of tons of Federal shipping before being herself sunk by a Federal warship. The American Government considered that Britain had broken international law in allowing her to be built, and was financially liable for all the damage she had done. The dispute was causing much bitterness between the two nations. Gladstone induced his Cabinet and the American Government to agree to the matter being placed before an International Arbitration Court. The Court, which consisted of representatives of Switzerland, Brazil, the United States, and Great Britain, met at Geneva, and finally decided that Britain must pay an indemnity of £3,000,000. It was a considerable sum, but only a small fraction of what a war would have cost ; nor would the financial loss have been the most deplorable aspect of such a war.

In each of these cases, taken separately, it is difficult to see how Gladstone could have taken any other line ; but there was a feeling that they all pointed one way—to a loss of that respect in the eyes of the rest of the world, which Britain had enjoyed in the days when “good old Pam” kept the flag flying so gallantly.

Thus, the Ministry had laid itself open to attack along many lines, and the Conservative Opposition, under the astute leadership of Disraeli, made the most of its opportunities. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the next General Election was held, at the beginning of 1874, the Liberals were decisively defeated. Gladstone was vexed because many of his party had voted with the Opposition over several recent measures, and resigned his position as its leader.

CHAPTER LXXI

THE DISRAELI MINISTRY

1874-1880

§ 311. "TORY DEMOCRACY."—Disraeli had led the Conservative party in the Commons for twenty-eight years, but for twenty-five of them he had been in opposition. Even during his three short spells of office (with Lord Derby as Prime Minister) it was only dissension among the Liberals that let them in, and they were turned out again at the next election. Disraeli had made a great mark as Leader of the Opposition. He had shown steadfast courage and persistence amid all sorts of discouraging circumstances; he had become a most adroit parliamentary tactician and a brilliant debater; and he had overcome the prejudice which the "gentlemen of England," who formed the backbone of the party, felt for a Jew whose appearance and outlook were so different from their own. Above all, he had given the party a definite policy. Conservatism, he said, stood for the maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of our people. The mention of the Empire was specially noteworthy, for hitherto British Governments, of whichever party, had taken little interest in colonial matters. And we shall notice that Disraeli was more disposed to play a striking part in foreign affairs than Gladstone. He carried on the Palmerstonian tradition that foreign potentates ought to be made to feel that Britain must be treated with respect.

§ 312. THE EASTERN QUESTION AGAIN.—Disraeli's pledge of "social reform" was fulfilled by half a dozen important Acts bearing on the health and protection of the working-classes (N223). These were mostly the work of the Home Secretary, Richard Cross. The Prime Minister gave them cordial support, but he had none of Gladstone's delight in the details of legisla-

tion. His chief contribution to the business of government lay in the imagination and insight with which he directed its foreign and imperial policy. Above all, he was concerned for our hold over India. To gain control over the route thither he bought up the shares in the Suez Canal which had hitherto been held by the Khedive of Egypt (1876). He arranged for the Prince of Wales to pay an official visit to India—the first time that any of the overseas possessions had been visited by a royal personage; and, realising that Indians could understand personal overlordship far better than the authority of Parliament, he procured the passing of an Act giving the Queen the title of “Empress of India.”

It was concern for India, moreover, which led him into the most striking achievement of his Ministry—his checking of Russian ambitions in the Balkans. Like Palmerston, he felt that the Czars had designs on India, and that Britain must uphold the fading strength of Turkey in order to prevent Russia from increasing her influence in the Near East (§ 293).

The Sultan had made little pretence of carrying out his promise (in the Treaty of Paris that ended the Crimean War, § 295) of better treatment for his Christian subjects. In 1876 the Balkan peoples were goaded into a revolt which was repressed with barbarous cruelty by the Sultan’s irregular troops. The tale of these horrors aroused general indignation throughout Europe, and Czar Alexander II proposed that Russia, Austria, Germany, and England should make a joint protest. But as Disraeli refused to take part in this lest it should weaken the Sultan’s authority, the project fell to the ground. Thereupon the Czar determined to intervene single-handed, to which Disraeli replied by collecting an army at Malta, and sending a fleet to protect Constantinople.

Gladstone came out of his retirement to support the old cause of “the oppressed nationalities” of Europe, and to uphold the Czar in driving the Turks “bag and baggage out of the provinces they had desolated and profaned.” His pamphlet on “The Bulgarian Atrocities” and his eloquent

orations had much effect in the north and midlands, but public feeling among the ruling classes and in London was as furiously Russophobe as it had been before the Crimean War (§ 293). For some months it seemed as if the Government might be carried away by this wave of feeling into taking up arms in support of "our old ally." The Queen was foremost in urging extreme measures on her Prime Minister, who had lately become *Earl of Beaconsfield*.

§ 313. "PEACE WITH HONOUR."—But Beaconsfield (as we must now call him) had no serious intention of going as far as that. The war fever in Britain was a great asset to him in dealing with the situation, inasmuch as it intimidated the Czar. As in 1854, the Turks were encouraged to resist by their hopes of British support (N205). They were repeatedly defeated, however; and the Russian army was already in sight of the minarets of Constantinople when the Czar's anxiety at the hostility of Britain made him come to terms with his adversary without pressing home his advantage. By the Treaty of San Stephano (1878) the greater part of the Sultan's Balkan possessions were to become the independent states of Bulgaria and Serbia.

This, of course, was exactly what Beaconsfield intended to prevent, and he now intervened with decisive effect. He pointed out that the boundaries of the Turkish Empire had been fixed by the Treaty of Paris (1856), and that this settlement could only be modified with the consent of all the Powers that had been party to it. The rulers of Europe were impressed by the fact that Britain seemed to know what she wanted and to be determined to have her way. They agreed to send representatives to the *Congress of Berlin* (1878), which was presided over by Bismarck. Beaconsfield insisted upon a large part of the new state of Bulgaria being thrust back under the Sultan; he refused the suggestion that Britain should annex Egypt, and accepted Cyprus instead; he demanded that if Bosnia was to be taken from Turkey it should be placed under

the control of Austria, so that Austrian influence might be a counterpoise to that of Russia.

When Beaconsfield returned home, bringing, as he said, "peace with honour," he was greeted with rapturous enthusiasm, and was rewarded by the delighted Queen with the Order of the Garter.¹

§ 314. THE PENDULUM SWINGS AGAIN.—But pride goes before a fall: from this moment nothing seemed to go right for the Conservative Ministry. British farmers now began to feel the competition of the foreign wheatfields which had grown up to supply the British market since the repeal of the Corn Laws; and this agricultural "depression" helped to cause one of those "slumps" in commerce which occur periodically in industrial countries. People generally blame the Government of the day for these "bad times," whether it has any share of responsibility for them or not.

Moreover, several of Beaconsfield's "imperialist" schemes turned out unfortunately. His fears of Russian designs on India impelled him to send out as Viceroy his personal friend Lord Lytton, with instructions to prevent the Czar from gaining control of Afghanistan. Lytton compelled the Amir to receive a British envoy who was to control his foreign policy; but a few months later the envoy and all his staff were murdered in Kabul by a mutinous Afghan army. Sir Frederick Roberts retrieved British prestige by a campaign in the course of which he made a daring march through the wilderness from Kabul to Kandahar; but it was evident that the policy of intervention would require a permanent British garrison in Afghanistan, which would have entailed a ruinous expense on the Indian Government. So a return had to be made to the system of

¹ The arrangements made by the Berlin Congress were not so successful as appeared at the time. The "Big Bulgaria" came into existence a few years later; the possession of Egypt could have saved Britain many difficulties later on; and the encouragement of Austrian influence in the Balkans was the immediate cause of the Great War.

treating the country as a friendly buffer-state between British India and Asiatic Russia.

Nor was this the only place where history was repeating itself unpleasantly. The Boers, who had been given their independence in 1852-4 (§ 301), were quite unable to defend themselves against the Zulus, who were now becoming very active under their famous chief, Cetewayo. If the Zulus overran the Dutch republics it would be very difficult to defend the British colonies from their attacks. Disraeli had long advocated "drawing closer the bonds of Empire"; and a High Commissioner was sent out to organise a federation of the whole of South Africa. The first step was the annexation of the Dutch republics; and this was proclaimed in 1877, coupled with a promise that the Boers should be given local self-government in the near future. But the British forces sent out to deal with the Zulus met with disaster at Isandlwana (1879); and although Cetewayo was soon afterwards defeated and captured at Ulundi, the prestige of the British army had suffered a good deal in the eyes of the Boers.

By this time Gladstone had changed his mind about retiring from politics. A General Election was now in sight, and he threw down a challenge to the Government by becoming candidate for Midlothian, which had been a safe Conservative seat ever since 1832. In the autumn of 1879 he went there and carried on the most famous "campaign" in the history of British politics, denouncing the Government's policy towards the Turks, the Afghans, and the Boers in words of passionate indignation. His speeches, reported in the newspapers, made a profound impression on public opinion, and at the General Election of 1880 the Liberals were returned to power with a majority of 140.

CHAPTER LXXII

DECLINE AND FALL OF LIBERALISM

1880-1886

§ 315. THE MINISTRY OF ALL THE TROUBLES.—Gladstone's Second Ministry (1880-5) had behind it as big a majority in Parliament as his First (1868-74), and it included as many able men, but it seemed to be "born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Its only successful piece of legislation was the *County Franchise Bill* (1884), which gave the vote to dwellers in rural districts on the same terms as the Act of 1867 had given it to town-dwellers (N236). One underlying cause of weakness was that the Cabinet was divided against itself, for it included old-fashioned "Whigs" like Lord Hartington and advanced Radicals like Joseph Chamberlain (N232). The only force which held it together was the personality of Gladstone, and the "Grand Old Man," as his admirers called him, had always lacked Beaconsfield's gift for understanding men and dealing with them. He was now over seventy years of age, and his vast political experience and awe-inspiring loftiness of character seemed to remove him so far above his colleagues that he could not enter into their varied points of view or co-ordinate their varied talents.

But apart from its own shortcomings, the Ministry suffered from a great deal of sheer bad luck. Some of its difficulties were the after-effects of the imperialist policy of the late Government. In South Africa, for instance, the Transvaal Republic had been annexed, as the first step towards a scheme of federation (§ 314). Though Gladstone had denounced this piece of "Beaconsfieldism" in his Midlothian campaign, he was at first inclined to let the annexation stand, being informed by Government representatives on the spot that the Boers were reconciled to it. But the Boers soon showed that this was a mistaken notion, by collecting an armed force on the Natal

frontier. General Colley, the Governor of Natal, raised a defence force, but agreed to an armistice while negotiations were carried on with President Kruger of the Republic. When the armistice expired, Colley advanced and seized *Majuba Hill*, which commanded the Boer position. The next day the Boers drove the British force off the hill, Colley himself being among the slain. And all the while an answer from Kruger, accepting the terms, was on its way to him.

What was the Government to do about it? To annex the Transvaal against the will of its inhabitants was repugnant to every Liberal principle; but to cancel the annexation after a military defeat seemed humiliating. Some members of the Cabinet were for a middle course—to defeat the Boers and then give them back their freedom; but it did not seem very dignified to sacrifice hundreds of lives in order to demonstrate that the British Empire was more powerful than a handful of Dutch farmers! Gladstone decided that the policy most worthy of a Christian nation would also be the wisest. A treaty was made by which the Boers recovered their independence on condition that they did not enter into relations with any other European Power, and that they admitted all white settlers to equal political rights with themselves.

It is difficult to see what wiser or worthier course Gladstone could have taken, but his opponents were confirmed in their view that he was not to be trusted to uphold the prestige of Britain in the eyes of foreigners (§ 310).

§ 316. TROUBLE IN IRELAND.—Another grave problem was the state of Ireland. The Land Act of 1870 (§ 307) had been the best that Gladstone could do in the face of a House of Lords very jealous for the rights of property, but it fell far short of being a real solution of the trouble. Its failure had been accentuated by another terrible potato famine in 1879-80; for thousands of families had been unable to pay their rent, and had been turned out of their homes to die of exposure and starvation. Their sufferings led to murder and outrage, and

there was a policeman or a soldier for every thirty people, vainly trying to keep order. An ex-Fenian named Michael Davitt formed a *Land League*, by which the peasantry bound themselves not to force up rents by bidding against each other for land, and not to pay any rent at all to harsh landlords. Any person who fell under the displeasure of the League was "boycotted"—that is to say, nobody was to have any dealings with him.

The wrongs of Ireland were kept forcibly before the attention of Parliament by the Irish members, who had recently formed themselves into a distinct "Nationalist Party," under the leadership of *Charles Stuart Parnell*. There were only about sixty of them, but they were so well disciplined that they were able to make themselves extremely unpleasant. Parnell's method was to compel the Government to attend to Ireland's grievances by obstructing all other public business. This obstruction consisted of incessant speech-making by organised relays of Nationalist members.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Ministry was W. E. Forster, the hero of the Education Act of 1870. Though an advanced Radical, he felt that the disorders must be suppressed before anything else could be done for the country, and he therefore brought in a drastic "Coercion Bill" (1881), empowering magistrates to imprison people without trial. The Irish members resisted it with such pertinacity that they prolonged the debate from four o'clock on a Monday until nine o'clock on the following Wednesday; but it was forced through at last, and Gladstone was compelled to alter the procedure of the House by a regulation which empowered the Speaker to apply "the closure" whenever a debate was carried to an unreasonable length.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister had been busy preparing a *Second Land Act* (1881) to repair the deficiencies of the First. It was the longest and most elaborate piece of legislation ever brought before Parliament. The principles embodied in it were spoken of as "The Three F's": Fair Rents, to be fixed by independent tribunals; Fixity of Tenure, so that a tenant

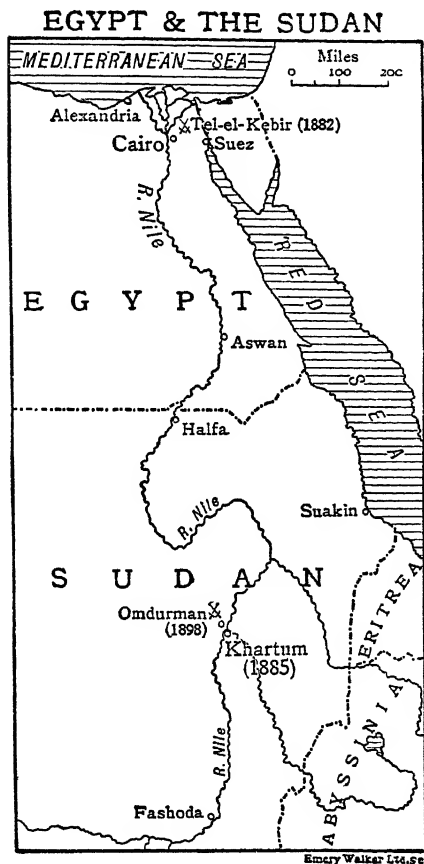
could not be turned out as long as he paid his rent ; and Free Sale, which enabled him to sell his interest in his holding. But Parnell was not satisfied, and under his orders the peasantry refused to have anything to do with the Land Courts set up by the Act. This so annoyed Gladstone that he allowed Forster to have the Irish leader arrested under the Coercion Act. But it soon became clear that Parnell's influence had been against violence, for the disturbances now became worse than ever. Gladstone was always opposed to repressive measures, and he soon began to feel that his Government had made a mistake in taking this line towards Ireland. He therefore authorised a bargain with Parnell (sometimes called *The Kilmainham Treaty*, after the name of the gaol in which Parnell was imprisoned), by which the Government undertook to bring in a Bill relieving farmers who were unable to pay their arrears of rent, while Parnell undertook to stop the campaign of lawlessness. Forster was so indignant at this abandonment of his policy of repression that he resigned, his place as Chief Secretary being taken by Lord Frederick Cavendish, a high-minded man whom everybody liked and respected. For a few weeks it seemed as if this "new departure" of goodwill was going to bring about a permanent change for the better in the relations between the two countries ; but a perverse fate once more intervened. Lord Frederick and a Government official were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in broad daylight, by a gang of ruffians who called themselves "The Invincibles." Parnell abhorred their deed as much as anyone ; but suspicion naturally fell upon him and his friends. All good feeling was at an end, and the Government had to bring in another Coercion Bill more severe even than that of 1881.

§ 317. TROUBLE IN EGYPT.—The Government was also beset by a harassing series of complications in Egypt. Ten years before, a spendthrift Khedive had got heavily into debt to foreign bankers—chiefly English and French ; even the sale of his Suez Canal shares had only relieved his difficulties for a

time. He taxed his unfortunate subjects to the limit of endurance, but his finances were in such disorder that it seemed likely that his creditors would lose their money. They therefore put pressure on their respective Governments to intervene, and an International Commission was set up in Cairo to see that the payment of interest on the loans was a first charge upon the revenue. When he tried to shake this off he was deposed and replaced by a more compliant Khedive, under a Franco-British "*Dual Control*."

Gladstone had denounced these arrangements before the election; but he found it as difficult to reverse his predecessor's policy here as in the Transvaal. Indeed, he was soon obliged to go

further. A mutiny in the Egyptian army, headed by an officer named Arabi Pasha, developed into an attack on the foreigners who were sucking up the national revenue for the interest on their loans; and some Europeans were murdered



in a riot at Alexandria. If Egypt fell a prey to anarchy the Suez Canal might be blocked, and France or Russia might intervene. Could Britain allow any other Power to get possession of that bottle-neck of her trade-routes? Gladstone felt that Britain must support the Khedive's Government until it was strong enough to stand alone. France declined to take any part in this action, so it was a purely British fleet and army that was sent to restore order. The forts at Alexandria were destroyed by a naval squadron, and an army under Sir Garnet Wolseley crushed Arabi and his mutineers at *Tel-el-Kebir* (1882). The work of reorganising the finances and government of the country was now undertaken by Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), who became semi-official "adviser" to the Khedive.

Meanwhile a fresh complication was arising in the Sudan, an outlying province of Egypt. It had been shockingly misgoverned, and had only been kept in subjection by means of garrisons commanded for the most part by British officers in the Khedive's service. A great rebellion now broke out there under a Mohammedan religious fanatic who called himself the Mahdi. The Khedive was quite unable to suppress it with his own resources, but it was not to be thought of that British lives and money should be expended to recover the Sudan for him to misrule. The Gladstone Ministry decided that the province must be evacuated until the Khedive was strong enough to reconquer it for himself. It therefore sent out *General Charles Gordon* to report on the possibility of withdrawing the Egyptian garrisons before they were overcome by the Mahdi's forces. This was an unfortunate appointment. Gordon had formerly been Governor of the Sudan under the Khedive, and had made fervent efforts to civilise the Sudanese and to convert them to Christianity. He hated the thought of handing them over to "a lot of stinking dervishes," as he said. He was an able and experienced soldier, and an earnest Christian, but was too independent-minded to carry through a task of which he did not approve. When he got to Khartoum he made

no attempt to carry out his instructions, but waited in the expectation that the Government would sooner or later be compelled to send out an army to relieve him—and to overcome the Mahdi.

Gladstone knew that some members of his Cabinet were opposed to the policy of abandoning the Sudan, and he felt that they had engineered the appointment of Gordon because they foresaw what would happen. Vexed at the attempt to force his hand, he refused to send a relief force for a long time; and when at last he consented to do so, it was too late. The place had been stormed by the Mahdi a few days before, and Gordon had been killed. The nation was overwhelmed with grief and indignation, and the Queen stopped little short of calling Gladstone a murderer. The Government's majority crumbled away, and when Parnell decided to support the Opposition (in the belief that a Conservative Government would henceforward be able to do more for Ireland than the Liberals), the Second Gladstone Ministry was defeated.

§ 318. HOME RULE.—Gladstone now came forward with a bold scheme for dealing with the grievances of Ireland. Ever since the time of O'Connell, the Irish members had been demanding the Repeal of the Act of Union (§ 250). Hitherto this had seemed like crying for the moon; but the state of Ireland had become so deplorable, and the Nationalists were making themselves so objectionable in the House of Commons, that some members of both the great parties began to consider whether something of the sort might not be the best method of dealing with the situation.

When Gladstone resigned in 1885 it was impossible to hold a General Election at once, for new lists of voters had to be prepared after the passing of the County Franchise Act (§ 315). The Conservatives accepted office under Lord Salisbury for the time being, but the election confirmed the Liberal majority, and Gladstone found himself Prime Minister for the third time. Just before taking office he announced that he felt that

the right way of dealing with Ireland was to leave her affairs in the hands of her own people, just as we had with the affairs of Canada and Australia. He quickly discovered that such a measure would cost him the support of a large section of his party. Hartington refused to take office with him; Chamberlain resigned a few weeks later; even John Bright, one of his oldest friends and staunchest supporters, opposed a scheme that would put Ulster Presbyterians under a Parliament of Catholic Nationalists such as those who had relied on lawless methods both at Westminster and in Ireland. But the old statesman had put his hand to the plough, and he did not turn back. His *Home Rule Bill* (1886) kept the army, the navy, the customs and foreign affairs under the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; but for all other matters concerning Ireland a separate assembly was to sit at Dublin. When the Bill was put to the vote, eighty Liberals voted with the Opposition, and it was defeated. Gladstone dissolved Parliament, and "appealed to the country." But the bulk of the nation felt that Home Rule would strike a blow at the unity of the Empire. In the new Parliament the Conservatives had a majority of nearly two hundred, Gladstone resigned, and the Conservatives were placed in office for a second time within a twelvemonth.

CHAPTER LXXIII

NEW POLITICAL GOSPELS

1886-1895

§ 319. "RESOLUTE GOVERNMENT."—Lord Salisbury was now Prime Minister again—this time with a substantial majority behind him. He took charge of foreign affairs himself; but the most vital question of the day was, what policy the Government was going to adopt towards Ireland, in place of the Home Rule which had been so decidedly rejected by the electors.

Salisbury declared that what Ireland needed was "twenty years of resolute government"—the stern repression of disorder, coupled with measures to alleviate the distress of the peasantry. He appointed his nephew, *A. J. Balfour*, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, to carry this policy out. Balfour had hitherto been regarded as too mild and refined for the rough-and-tumble of political life; but he soon showed that he was made of sterner stuff than most people imagined. He put through a most drastic *Crimes Act* (1888), suspending for an indefinite period the right to trial by jury, and placing all offences against order under the jurisdiction of resident magistrates appointed by the Government. Balfour was subjected to bitter attacks both from Liberals and from Nationalists; but he pursued his way unflinchingly, and it could not be denied that his methods were effective in keeping Ireland quiet. The other aspect of the Government's Irish policy was seen a year or two later in the *Land Purchase Act* (1890), whereby the Treasury undertook to lend tenants the money to purchase their holdings, provided that their landlord was willing to sell.

The only important piece of domestic legislation carried out by the Ministry was the establishment of *County Councils* (1888). A system under which millions of citizens had no control over the spending of the rates which they paid was an anachronism in a modern democracy. Henceforth these functions were to be performed by County Councils elected by the ratepayers (N224).

§ 320. THE NEW GOSPEL OF "IMPERIALISM."—One of the main reasons for the unpopularity of Gladstone's Home Rule policy was that the nation was just beginning to take a pride in the Empire. "Imperialism" had hitherto been mainly a hobby of a few enthusiasts like Gibbon Wakefield and Lord Durham (§§ 298, 302). Disraeli had talked about the preservation of the Empire (§ 311); but his only practical step in that direction—the scheme for the federation of South Africa

—had not led to very encouraging results. Of the other leading statesmen of the first half of Victoria's reign, Palmerston was mainly interested in European politics, John Russell in parliamentary reform, and Gladstone in finance and Ireland. As for the continental Powers, the fact that France, England, and Spain had all lost overseas empires within half a century (1760-1810) had convinced them that colonies were not worth while. In any case they felt no need for them, having no surplus populations and no industries requiring large supplies of raw material.

But towards the end of the 'seventies the situation began to change. The Industrial Revolution was by this time making rapid headway in Belgium, France, and Germany; and a vast new field for development had been brought to light through the exploration of Africa, especially by Livingstone and Stanley (N230). The first man in Europe to realise the possibilities of the new continent was Leopold II, King of the Belgians. He sent out Stanley to the Congo district to establish stations for trading with the natives; and the rubber, timber, palm-oil, and ivory which were forthcoming was a revelation to the rest of Europe. A "scramble for Africa" began, each country trying to "stake out claims" to profitable territory. Rivalries arose which threatened to lead to international complications—perhaps to open war. So Bismarck, the great statesman who had founded the German Empire in 1871, organised a Conference at Berlin (1884), at which each Power was assigned its own "spheres of influence."

In accordance with this agreement, almost the whole continent was partitioned amongst European Powers in the course of the next ten years. Spain acquired a strip along the north-east coast; Italy seized a tract near the Red Sea; France claimed the Sahara and Algiers; Germany and Portugal obtained territories on both seaboard; and Belgium founded the "Congo Free State." But the lion's share fell to Britain. Not only did she consolidate valuable possessions on the Gold Coast, in Nigeria and in what is now called Kenya, she also

made good a claim to the only remaining portion of Africa suited to be a permanent dwelling-place for white men. With this last development we shall deal more fully in a later chapter (§ 324).

We sometimes call these acquisitions Britain's "Third Empire." They differed from the great Dominions in the fact that they were the result of deliberate policy on the part of the Government. In 1884 an Imperial Federation League was founded; and people began to talk about "Britain's Imperial destiny," to take a pride in "the Empire on which the sun never sets," and to point out that "trade follows the flag." In 1887 there were great festivities in London to celebrate the fiftieth year of Victoria's reign; and one of the features of this "Jubilee" was a gathering of representatives from all the Queen's overseas possessions. This brought home to people how vast and varied those possessions were.

The most notable convert to the new gospel was Joseph Chamberlain. He had become the leader of the group of "Liberal Unionists"—the Liberals who had left the main body of the party over Home Rule (§ 318). They did not as yet ally themselves officially with the Conservatives, but they usually supported Lord Salisbury's Government in Parliament; and under Chamberlain's influence that Government became more and more closely identified with the policy of "Imperial Expansion."

§ 321. THE NEW GOSPEL OF "SOCIALISM."—Another new movement was beginning to make headway in Great Britain at this time. The effects of the trade depression of the years 1878-80 (§ 314) was felt for some years after, and caused much suffering among the working-class. This aroused great interest in social questions, and among the remedies suggested was "Socialism." Its doctrines had been propounded in a book called *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx, a German Jew who, expelled from his native land for his political views, had lived in London, and had produced this epoch-making work in 1869. He sought

to prove by historical arguments that the "capitalist" system of production is bound sooner or later to be replaced by a system under which the workers will collectively own the instruments of production—and that it behoves all men of good will to be prepared for a class war which will hasten the coming of this state of things. These ideas had not aroused much interest in this country until they were taken up in the early 'eighties by some of the younger Trade Union leaders. Most of the existing Unions were limited to highly skilled workers, who could afford a weekly subscription of a shilling or more, in return for which their Unions insured them against sickness and unemployment. But this system was quite out of the reach of the unskilled "casual" worker.

A great strike of the London dock-workers brought the matter to a head. The strike was a remarkable piece of improvised organisation carried through by some of the new type of "Socialist" Trade Union leaders, notably John Burns and Tom Mann. The dockers had a very strong case, and public opinion was on their side. In the end they gained practically all that they were fighting for—sixpence an hour, and spells of not less than four hours' employment. Their success gave a great impetus to the "new Trade Unionism." Unskilled workers began to form Unions with a weekly subscription of a few pence, designed simply to support their interests against employers, with the ultimate object of bringing "the capitalist system" to an end and substituting "common ownership of the means of production." From this time the Trade Union movement became more and more associated with Socialism.

§ 322. GLADSTONE TRIES AGAIN.—Gladstone, now over eighty years of age, remained "chained to the oar" (to use his own expression) by his determination to make one more attempt to carry through Home Rule. There were signs that public opinion was beginning to veer round, for the prisons were crowded with political prisoners, including a number of Mem-

bers of Parliament, and such methods of government have always been repugnant to the British people. Moreover, *The Times*, in the course of a series of attacks on the Nationalist party, printed a letter supposed to be written by Parnell, implying approval of the Phoenix Park murders (§ 316). This letter was afterwards proved to be a forgery, and the episode naturally produced a reaction in his favour. The Liberal party and their Irish allies began to hope that there would be a majority in favour of Home Rule at the next General Election. Then Parnell fell into disgrace by being involved in a divorce suit; and a bitter feud arose, both in the Liberal party and among the Irish themselves, as to whether he ought to be allowed to continue as leader of the Nationalist party.

These dissensions checked the "swing of the pendulum," and the election of 1892 sent to Parliament Liberals and Conservatives in almost equal numbers. The effect was to give control to the Nationalists, who held the balance between the English parties. Their support enabled Gladstone to turn out the Conservatives, and to form his Fourth Ministry. The most notable member of it, after the old Premier himself, was Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Budget of 1894 made a mark in the history of British fiscal policy by its extension of the *Death Duties*—that is to say, the duties payable on legacies. There was a great outcry against this "robbery of the dead," but it still forms one of the most important sources of revenue.

Gladstone now brought in a *Second Home Rule Bill* (1893). This time he proposed that Ireland should be represented at Westminster as well as in her own Parliament, so that she might take her share in the direction of imperial affairs. It scraped through the House of Commons, but was foredoomed to rejection by the House of Lords, where it was thrown out by a majority of something like ten to one. Under the shadow of this defeat the "Grand Old Man" retired from political life, and died some four years later. His place as Prime Minister was taken by Lord Rosebery; but the Government was torn

by personal squabbles now that its great leader was gone, and a year or so later it was turned out of office.

CHAPTER LXXIV

BRITON VERSUS BOER

1895-1902

§ 323. LORD SALISBURY AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—When Lord Salisbury formed his Third Ministry, after the fall of the Liberals in 1895, the "Liberal Unionist" group took office under him. Indeed, the new ingredient worked so strongly in the Conservative party that its very name was changed to "Unionist," and Chamberlain became the most prominent member of the Cabinet. He could have chosen any of the great offices of state; and the fact that he decided to become Colonial Secretary indicated that imperialism had become the centre of his political interests. The post had hitherto been regarded as of minor importance; but his vigorous personality soon made it the predominant department.

Lord Salisbury returned to his old post at the Foreign Office. He was almost immediately called upon to deal with a difficulty over the boundary between British Guiana and the republic of *Venezuela*. President Cleveland of the United States announced that he would appoint a commission to settle the dispute, and that he would treat any attempt by Britain to enforce her claims as a breach of the "Monroe Doctrine" (§ 273). This was very like a threat of war; but Salisbury made "the soft answer which turneth away wrath." He agreed to submit the question to an Arbitration Commission, which ultimately decided in favour of Britain, and all ended well.

A few years later the danger of war loomed up again—this time with France. During the last fifteen years the govern-

ment and army of Egypt had been so successfully reorganised by Lord Cromer and Colonel Kitchener (§ 317) that the country was able to undertake the long-delayed reconquest of the Sudan. Kitchener set to work in a very methodical way, building a railway as he advanced, so as to bring the Sudan into permanent communication with Egypt. It took him nearly three years to reach Khartoum, where he brought the forces of the Mahdi to bay, and utterly destroyed them at the Battle of *Omdurman* (1898).

The French had long regretted their action in leaving Britain in sole control of Egyptian affairs, and they were very jealous of the success of the Nile campaign, particularly as it threatened to upset a scheme of their own for extending their dominions from the Sahara to the Red Sea. They therefore sent Major Marchand to set up the tricolor at *Fashoda*, on the upper Nile. Kitchener requested Marchand to withdraw, pointing out that the Egyptian Government could not allow a foreign Power to control the upper waters of the river on which its very existence depended. For some weeks it seemed as if war might ensue, but wiser counsels prevailed, and the French Government abandoned its claims.

A joint Anglo-Egyptian administration was set up to rule the Sudan, which prospered exceedingly under the care of Sir Francis Wingate, who became High Commissioner a year or two later.

§ 324. RHODESIA.—Meanwhile a critical situation was developing in another part of Africa. The greatest personality in the imperialist movement of the 'eighties and 'nineties was *Cecil Rhodes* (1853-1902). The son of a country clergyman, he had gone out to South Africa for the benefit of his health, and there he made a fortune in the diamond-fields. The expansion of the British Empire was a religion to him. In particular he dreamed of a United States of South Africa wherein Britons would unite with Boers to form a new nation, much as they had united with Frenchmen to form the Canadian nation.

He had no love for Colonial Office administration—his aim was a self-governing dominion, to be joined eventually with Australia, New Zealand, and Canada in a British Commonwealth of Nations to preserve the peace of the world and the progress of civilisation.

He began by urging the Cape Parliament (of which he had been a member since 1880) to annex Bechuanaland, lest it should be absorbed in German West Africa, and so prevent the northward expansion of British power. But the Cape Government refused to embark upon such an adventurous policy; so Rhodes had to be content with seeing the country taken under the protection of the Colonial Office. This incident showed him that he must be able to act independently of politicians, and therefore must have the power which money alone can give. He therefore devoted himself to "cornering" the diamond market, with the result that within three years his personal income was something like a million a year. He was now in a position to set on foot a great scheme to develop the splendid high-lying country between the Limpopo and the Great Lakes. He formed a private Company, and obtained from the Government a charter authorising it to extend the railway and telegraph through this territory, to organise trade and colonisation within it, and to develop its mineral wealth. In 1890 the first band of pioneers, British and Dutch, were sent up to take possession. At first there was trouble with the Matabele; but after this warlike race had been subdued the development of the new country proceeded apace. In 1895 it received by royal proclamation the name of *Rhodesia*. This was the zenith of Rhodes's career. Prime Minister of the Cape Government, chairman of the Chartered Company, controller of the world's diamond output, he wielded such power as has rarely fallen into the hands of a private citizen. But Nemesis was at hand.

§ 325. THE JAMESON RAID.—One great obstacle to Rhodes's plans was the existence of the Dutch republics: they refused

even to join the British colonies in a common railway and postal system. In 1889 the position was complicated by the discovery of gold near Johannesburg, in the south-west corner of the Transvaal. Within a few months gold-seekers from all parts of the world—many of them people of very undesirable character—far outnumbered the entire Boer population of the republic. Under the existing Constitution these “Uitlanders” (foreigners) would gain control of the government. To prevent this, the Boers passed a law making it almost impossible for foreign-born persons to gain the right to vote. The Uitlanders felt that it was unjust that they should pay nineteen-twentieths of the taxes (the revenue had risen from £150,000 to £3,000,000 since the discovery of gold) and yet have no voice in the spending of the money. But President Kruger turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Finding themselves unable to gain redress by constitutional methods, they plotted an armed insurrection to overthrow the Boer Government.

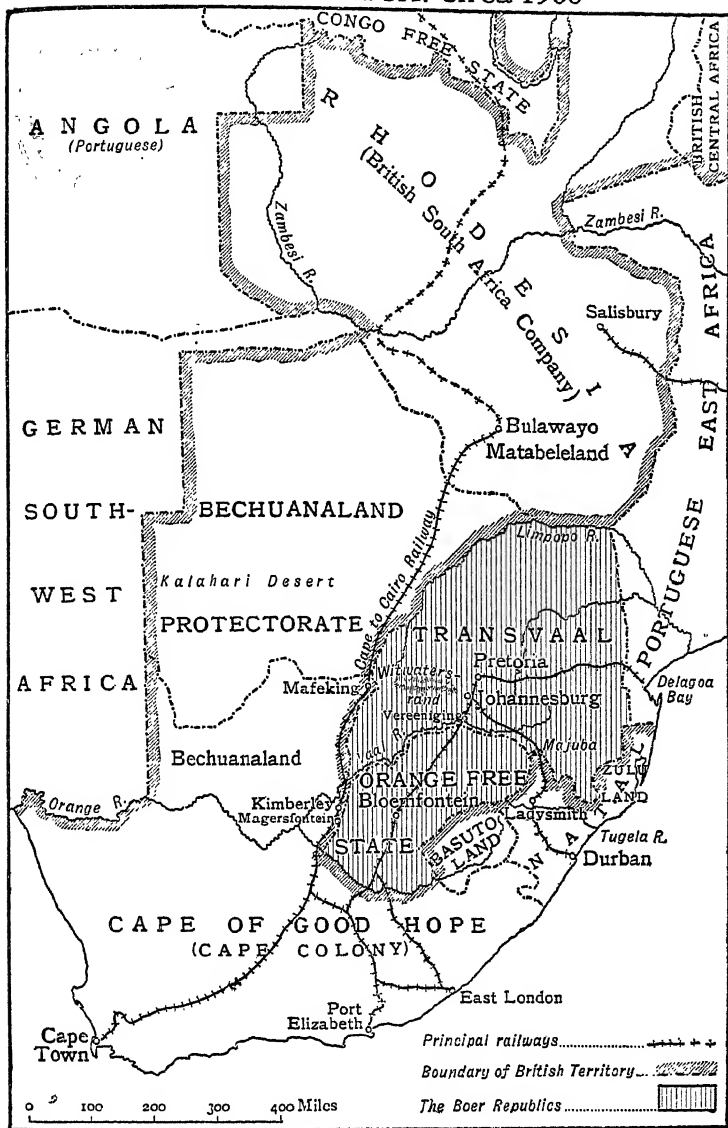
Rhodes, tempted by the hope of clearing away the Boer opposition to his schemes, entered into the conspiracy. He supplied the Uitlanders with arms and ammunition, and undertook to support their rising with 15,000 men in the service of the Chartered Company. This force was to make a raid from the Bechuanaland border, under the command of Dr. Starr Jameson, who was his close personal friend and the controller of Rhodesia. Of course, this was quite an unjustifiable proceeding, especially on the part of the Prime Minister of the Cape Government (as he now was); but he was impatient to see his schemes carried through, for the doctors had warned him that he had not long to live. Mature reflection made him see his mistake, and he had sent a message cancelling the arrangements, when appalling news was brought to him. Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, had “ridden in” without even concerting action with the Uitlanders; and the Boers had captured all the raiders with humiliating ease. It was a terrible blow to all that Rhodes held most dear. He was forced to resign all his public positions; a wedge had been driven be-

tween the two races which he most wished to unite ; and his imperialist ideals had been covered with disgrace and ridicule.

§ 326. THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—The Jameson Raid made good relations between the two races impossible. The Transvaal Government felt that the British had designs upon their country, and began to spend the revenue they extorted from the Uitlanders in providing themselves with up-to-date equipment for war and instructors from the French and German armies ; while the Uitlanders complained more and more bitterly of the unfair treatment to which they were subjected. In 1897 they petitioned the British Government to intervene with President Kruger on their behalf, and Chamberlain took up their cause with eager zest. The treaty of 1881 (§ 315) had granted the Boers something short of complete independence, and disputes arose as to exactly how far Britain had a right to interfere in their affairs. At length the British Government demanded that Kruger should definitely acknowledge that Britain was the paramount Power throughout South Africa, and upon his refusal troops were moved up towards the frontiers of the republic. When Kruger demanded that these threatening actions should cease, war was declared (October 1899). The Orange Free State, though it had taken no part in the quarrel (for, having no goldfields, it had no Uitlanders), threw in its lot with its sister republic and declared war also.

At first sight it seemed an amazing piece of audacity for these two tiny states, with a combined population of less than 100,000, thus to challenge the British Empire ; and it was generally expected that the affair would be over in a few months. But the Boers had much in their favour. A wide expanse of sparsely populated country is very difficult to master, as the British had found in the War of American Independence (§ 230). Such a country is suited for guerrilla warfare, and at this the Boers proved themselves highly expert. Their civil occupations made them horsemen and marksmen ; they knew the country ; they were fighting among their own people ;

SOUTH AFRICA: circa 1900



they had the most modern weapons and had been trained to use them by first-rate instructors; and, unhampered by elaborate baggage-trains, they could move about with a mobility highly disconcerting to a professional army, accustomed only to old-fashioned mass-tactics.

The details of the fighting are summarised elsewhere in this book (N233). The British forces met with disaster during the first few months, but their overwhelming superiority in numbers and resources gradually wore the Boers down, though the war lasted ten times as long as had been predicted at the outset. At the *Peace of Vereeniging* (May 1902) the Boers had to surrender all claim to independence, but were promised full rights of self-government under the Union Jack in the near future. Parliament made a grant of £10,000,000 towards repairing the damage done in the war, restocking the farms and reopening the diamond mines.

The promise of self-government was fulfilled in 1906, and a few years later the four South African Colonies (two Boer and two British) were united to form a new Dominion. Rhodes's vision had come true, though he did not live to see it (he died in 1902). Unfortunately the seeds of hostility sown by the raid and the war continued to produce an undergrowth of ill-feeling, and racial cleavage is still a handicap to the progress of the Union.

CHAPTER LXXV

THE REVIVAL OF LIBERALISM

1903-1914

§ 327. THE FALL OF THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.—In January 1901 the longest reign in English history came to an end with the death of Victoria and the accession of her son as *Edward VII.* This was followed a year later by the retirement of Lord Salis-

bury, who was succeeded as Premier by Balfour. The Unionist Government had gained a renewed lease of power by a General Election in 1900. The South African War had checked the normal "swing of the pendulum," for although the disasters of the first stage of the war had reflected a good deal of discredit on the Government, people remembered the old warning against "changing horses while crossing a brook." Moreover, the war had divided the ranks of the Liberals, for some of them supported the Government in its policy towards the Boers, while others were entirely opposed to it. Among those who became extremely unpopular owing to their "pro-Boer" and anti-war sentiments were the official leader of the party, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and one of the most notable of its younger members, Mr. Lloyd George.

But as soon as the war was over the tide began to turn strongly against the Unionists, partly owing to their conduct of it, and partly owing to the rising demand for a number of social reforms which they showed no sign of carrying through. Then Chamberlain's fervent imperialism impelled him to take up a new line of policy which hastened their decline in favour. In order to draw the Dominions and the Mother Country more closely together, he brought forward a scheme of Imperial Preference—that is to say, he proposed that lower duties should be charged on goods coming from other parts of the Empire than on foreign produce. This involved putting fresh duties on the foreign goods, and thus reversing the Free Trade policy under which Britain's commercial and shipping supremacy had been built up since the time of Peel. At first Chamberlain limited his demands to a small duty on corn; but the opposition was so fierce that his fighting spirit was roused, and he went on to advocate a thoroughgoing *Tariff Reform*—all-round "Protection" to prevent foreign countries from competing with British-made goods in the home market. Whatever the merits of his proposals, they completed the ruin of the Unionist party. For some of the most important members of the party were unconvinced by his arguments; and, on the other hand, the

Liberals forgot their squabbles over the war and rallied as one man to the defence of Free Trade.

Balfour clung to office for a time in order to enable his Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, to carry through the "Entente Cordiale" (N228), but this damming up of the tide of Liberal reaction made it all the more irresistible when at length Parliament was dissolved. At the election of January 1906 the Unionist majority of 150 was turned into a Liberal majority of 360, the largest in the whole history of our party politics.

§ 328. SOCIAL REFORM.—Campbell-Bannerman got together a very capable Ministry. Sir Edward Grey took charge of Foreign Affairs, R. B. Haldane became Secretary for War, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was H. H. Asquith, an able young lawyer, who had been Home Secretary in Gladstone's last Cabinet. But perhaps the most noteworthy appointment was that of John Burns as President of the Board of Trade, for this signalled the birth of a new parliamentary party. In 1893 the various Socialist organisations had joined to form an Independent Labour Party, to put forward candidates at elections. We have seen that the Trade Unions were now adopting Socialism as their creed (§ 321); and in 1899 their central organisation, the Trades Union Congress, decided to associate itself with the work of this I.L.P. They had only three or four members in the Parliament of 1900, but at the election of 1906 twenty-nine of their candidates were elected. Most of these "Labour Members" were Trade Union officials, and supported out of Trade Union funds. They mostly called themselves "Socialists," but this is a vague term, and their aim was social reform rather than the overthrow of capitalism foretold by Karl Marx (§ 321). Of course, the gigantic Liberal majority made the Government quite independent of the support of this handful of members; but Campbell-Bannerman gave a Cabinet post to Burns as an indication that Liberals welcomed the Labour party as allies.

There is no doubt that the Labour leaven had a stronger

influence on the Government than its numbers would warrant, in much the same way as the Liberal Unionists had influenced the Conservatives in the later 'nineties (§ 323). For instance, one of the first cares of the new Government was to strengthen the position of the Trade Unions by a *Trade Disputes Act* (1906) (N237). And it went on to pass so many measures designed to improve the lot of the working-class that these years, 1906-1914, may be regarded as a Third Great Reform Era, comparable with those of the 'forties and of the 'seventies (N238). To mention only a few of the most outstanding of these measures, *Old Age Pensions* were provided to keep the aged poor out of the workhouse; *Labour Exchanges* were organised to enable employers to get into touch with unemployed workpeople; and a *National Insurance* scheme was adopted whereby the working-class were insured against sickness and unemployment, the premiums being paid partly by the Government, partly by the employer, and partly by the workman himself.

§ 329. LORDS *v.* COMMONS.—Early in 1908 Campbell-Bannerman was compelled to retire owing to ill-health, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Asquith. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer now fell to Mr. Lloyd George. He had always been an advanced Radical, and in 1909 he brought in what he called *The People's Budget*—no ordinary peace Budget, as he explained, but “a war Budget, to raise funds for an attack on poverty and squalor.” In order to raise funds for costly social reforms such as Old Age Pensions, the Income Tax was raised to 1s. 2d. in the £ for incomes over £3000, while incomes over £5000 were to pay a “super-tax” of 6d. in the £. There was such a tremendous outcry on the part of the well-to-do against this “confiscatory taxation” that, despite the Government's huge majority, the Budget—which is usually dealt with by the end of June—did not pass the Commons until November.

Then a fresh excitement began. According to the established principles of the Constitution, the House of Lords cannot touch a “Money Bill”; but the Opposition declared that this was an

exceptional case—the Budget was an attack on the rights of property. For the first time in history a Budget was rejected by the Upper Chamber. Asquith dissolved Parliament to enable the country to decide the all-important question. At the General Election of January 1910 the Government's majority was reduced to about 120 ; but this was sufficient for the purpose, and when the Budget came before the Lords again (in April 1910, by which time another Budget was due !) they allowed it to pass.

But the Government would not let matters rest there. The incident had brought to a head a long-standing quarrel between the Liberal party and the House of Lords. For there was a permanent and overwhelming Conservative majority in that House, and Liberals complained that important measures, passed by large majorities in a newly elected House of Commons after weighty discussion, had been summarily rejected by a sparsely attended House of Lords with practically no discussion at all. The Asquith Government therefore determined to follow up its victory of the Budget by permanently limiting the power of the Lords to a "suspensive veto." The battle over this drastic amendment to the Constitution was just about to begin when the death of King Edward (May 1910) caused a suspension of hostilities. A conference between the leaders of both sides was carried on for some time ; but in November it broke up without having come to an agreement. Thereupon Asquith announced another General Election (the second in 1910) on the sole question as to whether the absolute veto of the House of Lords should be abolished. The result was that the Liberal majority remained practically unchanged. The Lords tried to defy this verdict by passing amendments to the "Parliament Bill," which quite altered its provisions. The Commons rejected these amendments and sent the Bill up to the Lords again in its original form ; and Asquith now announced that King George V, taking into consideration the result of the last election, had agreed to enforce the will of the people (as expressed at the recent election) by creating enough new Liberal Peers to redress

the balance of parties in the Lords. Thus, if the Upper Chamber insisted on its amendments its dignity would be cheapened by the creation of hundreds of new Peers, and the obnoxious Bill would be passed after all. So they gave way, and the Parliament Act became law (N236).

§ 330. STRIFE.—The Budget Crisis and the Abolition of the Lords' Veto were but two of many struggles which excited the public during these years. Another was the movement for *Votes for Women*. Hitherto it had been carried on in a sober constitutional way, and nobody had taken much notice of it; but in 1905 Mrs. Pankhurst and her two daughters founded "The Women's Social and Political Union," which went in for more vigorous methods. They determined that neither Government nor nation should know a moment's peace until it had granted their demands. They smashed shop-windows, they threw inflammable material into post-boxes, they burned down public buildings, they invaded the House of Commons, they attacked Ministers with dog-whips and red pepper. When they were arrested for these exploits they refused to pay fines; and when they were imprisoned they went on hunger-strike. The Government was a good deal embarrassed by the movement, but it refused to give way, and women only gained the vote in 1918, when the justice of their claim had been brought home to the nation by their devotion to the national cause during the War.

Then the Trade Union movement took a revolutionary turn. The Unions were disappointed that the Labour party had not done more for the working-classes, and some of the younger and wilder spirits among the leaders began to preach a return to the gospel of social revolution as taught by Karl Marx. There was a great railway strike in 1911, because the companies would not recognise the right of the Unions to speak for the men in arranging wages and conditions of employment. Then followed a gigantic miners' strike, to enforce a minimum wage all over the country of 5s. a day. Over a million men were idle,

many other industries were affected, and a blow was struck at the coal-export trade from which it never recovered. The strike was only ended when the Government stepped in, propounded a compromise, and enforced it by an Act of Parliament. To many people all this was a disquieting revelation of the strength and solidarity of the Unions; and this alarm was increased when in the spring of 1914 three of the greatest of them—the railwaymen, the miners, and the transport workers—formed a *Triple Industrial Alliance*, to pool their power of putting pressure on the employers.

Lastly, the question of Home Rule came up again, and provoked a crisis which brought Ireland within measurable distance of civil war. So long as the Liberal Government had the majority of 1906 it could afford to ignore the Irish Party; but when the elections of 1910 reduced its majority to 120, it was forced to do something to placate them. Accordingly, a *Third Home Rule Bill* was brought in (1912). The great majority of the Irish people were insistent in their claim for autonomy; but the Protestants of Ulster were equally determined that in no circumstances would they submit to a Catholic Government at Dublin. Encouraged by the Unionist party in England, they imported arms and began to drill, so as to be able to resist by force any attempt to coerce them; and the Nationalists of southern Ireland made counter-preparations. The Lords rejected the Bill, but under the new Parliament Act it would come into force without their consent within three years. It seemed as if this would be the signal for open war. As the fatal day approached, King George summoned representatives of both sides to a conference (June 1914), but the feeling in Ireland was so white-hot that if any of them had made a concession he would have been repudiated by his followers. Then, just when the excitement was at its height, this crisis was swallowed up by a greater.

§ 331. THE ROAD TO ARMAGEDDON.—To explain the causes of the World War would need the whole of a book much bigger

than this ; for those causes involved three distinct currents of ill-feeling—the rivalry between Austria and Russia for influence in the Balkans, the rivalry between Britain and Germany for commercial and naval supremacy, and the far older and more complicated race-hatred between France and Germany. Here we can but mention a few of the main points as seen from a British angle.

The Franco-German War had left great bitterness between those two Powers, and each sought to strengthen itself with allies, Germany forming the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy, while France made a Dual Alliance with Russia. Britain prided herself on “ a policy of *Splendid Isolation* ” from these continental animosities ; though on the whole we were drawn rather towards our German “ cousins ” than towards France, with whom we had several bones of contention, especially over Egypt (§ 323). But when things went badly with our forces in the early days of the Boer War, there was a universal shout of delight from European Powers which were jealous of our Empire, and in this chorus it was Germany that took the lead. Indeed, the German Emperor hinted that nothing but the overwhelming superiority of the British navy prevented him from coming to the aid of the Boers. And as he now began to build up his own navy as if to challenge that superiority, our statesmen felt that it would be suicidal to remain on bad terms with France as well. So soon after the death of Salisbury (who stood by the old pro-German policy) his successor as Foreign Secretary (Lord Lansdowne) and in the Premiership (Balfour) negotiated an *Entente Cordiale* with France. This was not a formal treaty. It merely cleared up several outstanding causes of ill-feeling between the two countries, and made a “ gentlemen’s agreement ” that each would support the other in case of attack by a third party. This was supplemented a few years later by a similar understanding between Britain and France’s ally, Russia (N228, 229).

The Liberal Government under Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith continued this policy. Admiral Fisher designed a

super-battleship, the *Dreadnought*, which could outrange and outsteam anything afloat; and a race began between Britain and Germany in building ships of this type. Haldane at the War Office reorganised the army to fit it for a new purpose—to take its place alongside the French army in a continental war. And all this time the Government was careful to avoid any word or deed that might precipitate the crisis, and many Liberals were opposed to the growing expenditure on armaments. Several times it seemed as if war were about to break out on the Continent, but on each occasion the crisis was successfully tided over. When at last the tension reached breaking-point, it was through a comparatively minor incident. A recent war between the Balkan states had resulted in greatly strengthening Serbia, of which Austria was very jealous. In June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered at Sarajevo, presumably by Serbians. Austria demanded humiliating penance from the Serbian Government. Serbia agreed to nine-tenths of the Austrian demands, but the fact that she demurred at the other tenth was made an excuse for an immediate declaration of war. Thereupon Russia came to the support of Serbia, Germany supported Austria against Russia, and France supported Russia against Germany, all within the space of a few days.

The great question now was: What would England do? There was a general feeling in favour of France, though the Entente did not bind us to come to her aid in the existing circumstances, yet what had we to do with the Balkan rivalries which had been the root cause of the quarrel?

The situation was still in the balance when news came that the Germans were attacking France through Belgium. The maintenance of treaties and the safety of the Netherlands were the reason for our entering upon the World War, just as they had been the reason for our entering upon the Revolutionary Wars 120 years earlier (§ 243). The Government had the whole nation at its back when it sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding the immediate evacuation of Belgium. The German

Chancellor protested to the British ambassador, in words which afterwards became famous, against the folly of making war "for a mere scrap of paper." The Kaiser's Government had not expected that Britain would adopt such an attitude ; but its mighty war-machine had been set in motion and could not now be stopped. The time-limit for the ultimatum expired at midnight on 4th August 1914.

NOTES ON PERIOD X (1867-1914)

SOVEREIGNS OF BRITAIN

VICTORIA (1837-1901).

EDWARD VII (1901-1910).

GEORGE V (1910-).

MOST NOTABLE FOREIGN RULERS.

FRANCE : NAPOLEON III (The Second Empire : 1852-1870).

THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1871-).

GERMANY : WILLIAM I (1871-1888).

WILLIAM II (1888-1918).

No. 220.—DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE—A COMPARISON.

DISRAELI

Beginning as Radical, became leader of Conservatives.

Favoured aggressive foreign policy.

An "Imperialist."

Understood nothing of finance.

Not active as legislator.

Excelled in Opposition.

Keen sense of humour, tactful, and good human nature.

Excelled in quip and epigram.

Russophobe in the Eastern Question.

India the centre of his interests.

KEYNOTE : PATRIOTISM.

GLADSTONE

Beginning as Tory, became leader of Liberals.

Avoided aggressive foreign policy.

Not interested in imperial politics.

Greatest of Finance Ministers.

Exulted in the labour of legislation.

Ineffective in Opposition (except for Midlothian campaign).

Lacked humour and tact, neglected personal factor.

Excelled in elevated oratory.

Turkophobe in the Eastern Question.

Ireland the centre of his interests.

KEYNOTE : RIGHTEOUSNESS.

No. 221.—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF GLADSTONE.

AS FINANCE MINISTER :

He rounded off Peel's Free Trade policy on which the commercial and industrial supremacy of Britain were built up (N201).

He set an example of economy and careful auditing of public accounts.

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS :

He set an example of international arbitration over the *Alabama* dispute.

He "backed the right horse" over Italian freedom and the Eastern Question. (Events proved Disraeli wrong over both these matters.)

IN PARLIAMENTARY REFORM :

He did more to shape the Second Great Reform Act (1867) than Disraeli, who was its author.

He passed the Ballot Act (1872).

He passed the County Franchise Act (1884), which added more voters than both the earlier Reform Acts put together.

OVER IRELAND :

He devoted twenty-five years to its problems, and it is arguable that if his plan of Home Rule had been adopted in 1886 Ireland would still form part of the United Kingdom.

No. 222.—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DISRAELI.

(1) He created the modern Conservative Party, giving it new watchwords—the Preservation of the Constitution and the Empire, and Social Reform.

(2) He carried through the Second Reform Act, which made Britain a democracy.

(3) He did more than any other man to create pride in the Empire.

(4) He often saw further by his flashes of intuition than Gladstone did by his fiery zeal.

E.g. he realised the importance of Trade Unions; he understood India; he grasped the importance of the Suez Canal; he saw the possibilities of Imperial Federation.

(5) He carried on the Palmerstonian tradition of a “forward policy” in foreign affairs; and in 1878 he made Britain for a time the dominant Power in Europe.

No. 223.—SOCIAL REFORMS UNDER THE DISRAELI MINISTRY (1874–1880).

ARTISANS’ DWELLING ACT (1875) required Town Councils to appoint Medical Officers of Health, and empowered them to have slum property replaced by healthy dwellings which could be let at a reasonable rent to working-class tenants.

The FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT (1875) placed these organisations under Government control, thus encouraging thrift.

Friendly Societies provide “benefits” in sickness in return for small weekly subscriptions. Several of them had gone bankrupt through mismanagement or dishonesty, with disastrous results.

The EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN ACT (1875) protected Trade Unions from prosecution for “conspiracy.”

It remained a sort of Magna Charta of Trade Unionism for a quarter of a century.

The ENCLOSURE OF COMMONS ACT (1876) prevented landlords from absorbing public land into their estates.

One of its first effects was to save Epping Forest as a playground for the East End of London.

The **MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT (1876)** regulated the condition of employment in merchant vessels.

Seamen often lost their lives through being sent to sea in unseaworthy ships, which rascally shipowners were quite prepared to lose for the sake of the insurance. Attention was drawn to the evil by Samuel Plimsoll, M.P., and the mark on the side of the ship which shows how deeply she may be loaded is still called "The Plimsoll Mark."

The **FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878)** codified the many Acts which had been passed to regulate conditions of employment since the famous Act of 1833 (§ 282).

No. 224.—DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1815-1914).

The *New Poor Law* of 1834 (§ 283) provided for local **BOARDS OF GUARDIANS** to supervise Poor Relief and arrange for a Poor Rate.

The *Municipal Corporation Act* (1835) provided for elected **TOWN COUNCILS** to be created in all boroughs, in place of the old "corporations," which had often been co-optative and corrupt.

This was a corollary of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832.

The *Education Act* (1870) provided for the election of local **SCHOOL BOARDS** to take charge of the elementary schools which the Government was building.

The *Local Government Board* (1871) was established to act for the Government in relation to various local bodies, especially in regard to Poor Relief, Public Health, Housing Improvements, Highways, etc.

Most of its functions were taken over by the Ministry of Health in 1919.

The *Local Government Act* (1888) set up **COUNTY COUNCILS**, which did for rural districts what the Municipal Corporation Act had done for boroughs. Hitherto such matters (roads, public health, etc.) had been controlled by county magistrates (§ 319).

One outcome of the Act was the formation of a County of London, with an elective Council, which unified the local government of London, hitherto controlled by a chaotic welter of "vestries."

No. 225.—DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION (1815-1914).

1833.—First Government Grant (to the Voluntary Societies) for building schools.

Money paid to the Voluntary Societies (N193).

1839.—Grants increased; inspectors appointed to see the money well spent.

Note the growth of "bureaucracy."

1861.—Grants increased. System of payments by results.

I.e. the biggest grants went to the schools that could get most children up to a given test-standard.

But in the middle of the century less than half the nation could read and write.

1868.—Public Schools Act.

Reorganised the governing bodies of seven of the nine existing Public Schools, and established the modern Public School system—a peculiarly British institution.

1870.—Forster's Education Act—a nation-wide system of elementary education.

1880.—Attendance made compulsory.

Hitherto there had not been sufficient schools for this.

1890.—Elementary Education made free.

Hitherto parents had paid a few pence per week.

1899.—Board of Education established.

Hitherto education had been under the Vice-President of the Council.

1902.—Balfour's Education Act abolished School Boards, bringing state-aided schools under control of Town and County Councils.

The Act also encouraged Local Authorities to build Secondary Schools wherever they were needed to bring secondary education within the reach of all who were fitted to profit by it, including a system of "free places" from Elementary Schools.

No. 226.—THE CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE IN IRELAND.

(A) HISTORY—the memory of wrongs suffered from English Governments in the past.

Repeated confiscations of land (§ 248); the Penal and Commercial Codes (§ 248); the "betrayal" over Emancipation (§ 250).

(B) RACIAL ANIMOSITY—between a privileged upper class of English blood and a peasantry of Celts.

This cleavage between "the two nations" in Ireland had been brought about by the confiscations of the past.

(C) RELIGIOUS ANIMOSITY—the great majority being Catholic and the privileged minority Protestant. (Thus Protestantism is associated with "landlordism.")

Fomented by Catholic priesthood, who have tremendous influence over the peasantry.

(D) ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES—over-population, based on a staple crop liable to complete failure.

The potato will feed more to the acre than any other crop, and population increases up to this limit. But it is (or *was*) liable to disease—hence periodical famines. And there were no industries to provide alternative occupations.

(E) LAND LAWS—the land mostly being in the hands of great landlords, who let on yearly tenancies.

The peasants competed for holdings, forcing up rents to heights which they could not pay, thus placing themselves at the mercy of landlords. The short tenancies made it impossible for them to improve the land. Hence they lived in degraded poverty, very near the margin of starvation.

(F) ABSENTEE LANDLORDS—who spent the rents they drew from Ireland in England.

Thus draining the country of its resources.

Disraeli put his finger on the spot when he said that what Ireland was suffering from was "a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church."

No. 227.—THE INFLUENCE OF IRELAND ON ENGLISH POLITICS.

1829.—The grant of *Emancipation* smashed the old Tory party under Wellington (§ 278).

1834-8.—Their *Alliance with O'Connell* smashed the Whig party under Melbourne (§ 284).

1846.—The *Repeal of the Corn Laws* (the immediate cause of which was the potato famine in Ireland) smashed the new Tory party under Peel (§ 287).

1886.—*Home Rule* smashed the Liberal party under Gladstone (§ 318).

No. 228.—RELATIONS WITH FRANCE (1867-1914).

1870.—FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.—Gladstone induced both combatants to agree not to violate the neutrality of Belgium.

1878-82.—DUAL CONTROL IN EGYPT.—Britain and France joined to control the Khedive's Government in the interests of creditors (§ 317). But when difficulties arose over the rebellion of Arabi Pasha, France withdrew, leaving Britain in sole control (§ 317).

This was the cause of much friction and ill-feeling.

1898.—THE FASHODA INCIDENT.—When France withdrew a claim to control the upper waters of the Nile (§ 323).

1903-4.—"ENTENTE CORDIALE"—a clearing up of outstanding disputes, and an understanding that either would come to the support of the other if attacked by a third party (§ 331).

The hostility of Germany during the South African War had been a revelation to British statesmen of the dangers of the policy of "splendid isolation."

No. 229.—RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA (1867-1914).

1871.—Russia announced that she would no longer observe the clause of the Treaty of Paris (§ 295) which forbade her to keep war-ships on the Black Sea. Britain, unable to enforce the Treaty single-handed, had to give way (Conference of London), (§ 310).

1877-8.—British public opinion violently Russophobe over the Russo-Turkish War. Disraeli sent fleet to Constantinople. This compelled the Czar to agree to the Treaty of San Stephano, and later to the revision of that treaty by the Congress of Berlin (§ 313).

The Czar's disappointment over this made him pay more attention to Asiatic expansion, which aroused greater fears than ever for the safety of India, and led to Disraeli's disastrous attempt to gain control of Afghanistan (§ 314).

1907.—As a corollary to the Entente Cordiale, Britain made a similar understanding with France's ally, Russia—settling disputes that had arisen about Persia in particular (§ 331).

No. 230.—THE EXPLORATION OF AFRICA.

Until the middle of the 19th century very little was known about the interior of Africa, but between 1850 and 1880 much light was thrown on "The Dark Continent."

Burton and Speke (1857-60) discovered Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza.

Baker (1860-64) discovered Lake Albert Nyanza.

Nachtigall (1869-74) travelled through the Libyan desert to Lake Chad.

Schweinfurth (1868-71) explored the Upper Nile and Abyssinia.

David Livingstone (1843-73) began as missionary in Bechuanaland; travelled the length of the Zambesi, discovered Victoria Falls and Lake Nyassa, mapped the upper waters of the Congo. Disappeared—expedition, financed by newspapers, sent under H. M. Stanley (American war correspondent) to find him, but he refused to return, and died among his negro "flock."

H. M. Stanley (1870-87) explored the Congo country, disclosing the possibilities of commercial exploitation (§ 320).

No. 231.—ROBERT CECIL, MARQUESS OF SALISBURY (1830-1903).

(Descendant of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Burghley.)

Member of Derby-Disraeli Ministry (1866-67)—resigned over Reform Bill (§ 306).

Secretary for India, later Foreign Secretary in Disraeli Ministry (1874-80). Accompanied Beaconsfield to Berlin Congress (1878).

But he afterwards admitted that we had "backed the wrong horse" there (§ 313).

Prime Minister when Gladstone was defeated over Home Rule (1886-92).

Acted as Foreign Minister. Policy: "Splendid isolation"—with leaning towards Germany.

Prime Minister again after Gladstone's second Home Rule defeat (1895-1902).

Foreign Secretary again. Venezuela, Fashoda (§ 323).

Resigned owing to ill-health (1902). Died shortly afterwards.

His "splendid isolation" policy was now out of date. It was modified by his successor at the Foreign Office, Lord Lansdowne, who made the Entente with France (§ 327).

No. 232.—JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (1836-1914).

Successful manufacturer; Lord Mayor of Birmingham; Radical M.P.

President of Board of Trade in Gladstone's 1880 Ministry.

Keen "Imperialist." One of the founders of the Imperial Federation League.

Left Gladstone over Home Rule—became leader of "Liberal Unionist" group.

Colonial Secretary under Lord Salisbury (1895-1902).

Established School of Tropical Medicine at Liverpool, and research into Tropical Agriculture at Kew. Developed Crown Colonies, organised fruit trade with West Indies, railways for Nigeria, etc. Presided over Colonial Conferences, 1897, 1902. Conducted the British end of the quarrel with the Boers (§ 326).

After the South African War he began agitation for Tariff Reform (§ 327)—resigned from Cabinet to carry it on. But it was emphatically rejected at the election of 1906 (§ 327). Shortly afterwards retired from politics owing to illness.

RADICALISM—UNIONISM—IMPERIALISM—TARIFF REFORM.

No. 233.—THE COURSE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (1899-1902).

THREE STAGES.

I. October 1899 - February 1900: DEFEAT. (Commander: Sir Redvers Buller.)

Three British columns defeated in one "Black Week" in December: MAGERSFONTEIN, STORMBERG, TUGELA RIVER. British forces shut up in Ladysmith, Kimberley, Mafeking.

II. February - November, 1900: VICTORY. (Commander: Lord Roberts.)

Kitchener as Chief of Staff. Offers of help from Dominions accepted. City Imperial Volunteers (London) and Imperial Yeomanry enrolled.

Large reinforcements enabled Roberts to outflank instead of making frontal attacks.

February : Kimberley relieved ; Boers' main force (under Cronje) destroyed at PAARDEBURG ; Ladysmith relieved.

March : Bloemfontein captured. (Orange Free State knocked out of war.)

May : Mafeking relieved.

June : Pretoria captured. End of Transvaal Republican Government.

November : Roberts returns, leaving the rest to Kitchener.

III. November 1900 – May 1902 : "CLEARING UP." (Commander : Lord Kitchener.)

It proved very difficult, owing to the nature of the country, to round up isolated "commandos." (One Boer leader, De Wet, became a hero with the British public owing to his elusiveness.) As the Boers in the field were helped by their people on the farms, the civil population was placed in "concentration camps" and the farms destroyed. (This caused Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal leader, to accuse the army of employing "methods of barbarism.")

But at last further resistance became impossible, owing to effects of attrition.

Treaty of Vereeniging (May 1902).

Boers surrendered their independence, but were promised self-government within the Empire.

No. 234.—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE DOMINIONS.

NOTE : "Responsible Government" implies a system of government by Ministers answerable to elected Parliament, the Home Government being represented merely by a Governor-General, whose powers are much the same as those of the Sovereign in the Imperial Government. The chief difference between the Dominions and sovereign states is that the former have not an independent foreign policy. (But Canada keeps a Minister at Washington.)

CANADA.—The Provinces formed a Federal Government under the *British North America Act* (1867), with a capital at Ottawa.

For later developments see § 302.

NEW ZEALAND.—In 1852 each of the six settlements became Provinces with its own elective Council and a central government at Wellington, consisting of a Governor and a Parliament. In 1857 this central government became "responsible." In 1875 the Provincial Governments were abolished.

1890–1903.—Great development of "State Socialism" by Seddon (Premier) and Reeves (Minister of Labour) ; Government Arbitration Courts settle labour disputes, its awards being binding on both parties. Large estates broken up by steeply graduated Land Tax. High Protection. Immigration discouraged—90 per cent. of population are New Zealand born.

AUSTRALIA.—New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania each granted responsible government in 1856 ; Queensland in 1859 ; Western Australia in 1893.

These colonies were separated by such vast distances that federation was not thought of till 1890. But it became imperative, for a common policy to exclude cheap coloured labour, for defence against threatened Japanese control of the Pacific, etc. (The great obstacle to federation was that N.S.W. wanted to keep Free Trade for the benefit of Sydney shipping, while all the rest wanted Protection.)

"Commonwealth of Australia" created in 1900, with a very democratic Constitution—the Senate has no veto.

The Labour Party, consisting of federated Trades Unions, became extremely powerful; aimed at making Australia a "working-man's paradise" by maintaining high wages and keeping out cheap labour.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Cape Colony received "responsible government" in 1853; Natal in 1893. The former Boer republics were granted self-government (in accordance with the Peace of Vereeniging, N233) in 1906-7. This cleared the way for Rhodes's dream of a Union of South Africa (§ 324). Delegates from the four colonies met at Durban to draw up Constitution (1909).

The Constitution was more like that of New Zealand than that of Australia. The four colonies were renamed "Provinces," their local governments being entirely subordinate to the Dominion Parliament at Cape Town. The first Prime Minister was Louis Botha, an ex-Boer general.

No. 235.—DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIAL POLICY (1840-1914).

Lord Durham's Report (1839, § 302) laid down the future lines of British imperial policy: self-government.

The first effects of the Report may be seen in the readiness with which the British Parliament granted self-government to the Australian Colonies (1856); Cape Colony (1853); New Zealand (1857); The new policy was fully developed in the formation of the Dominion of Canada (1867, § 302)—"the Eldest of the Daughter Nations."

Disraeli attempted a federation of South Africa (1876-80).

A failure, owing to resistance of the Boers, who rebelled against annexation, and recovered their independence under Gladstone (§ 315).

An *Imperial Federation League* (including Forster, Chamberlain, Rosebery) was formed (1884) to draw the colonies into closer relationship with Britain.

First Colonial Conference (1887), consisting of the Premiers of the colonies who were in London for the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

NOTE THAT "RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT" PLACES PRIME MINISTERS IN A POSITION TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THEIR PEOPLE.

Second Colonial Conference (1897) presided over by the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain (N232). The Premiers had come for the Diamond Jubilee.

They showed no enthusiasm for close federation, as they cherished their independence.

THE RALLY OF THE COLONIES TO SUPPORT THE MOTHER COUNTRY IN THE DARK DAYS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR REVEALED HOW REAL WERE THE BONDS OF SENTIMENT WHICH HELD THE EMPIRE TOGETHER.

Third Colonial Conference (1902), presided over by Chamberlain, on the occasion of the coronation of Edward VII.

Chamberlain sounded the Premiers on the subject of Imperial Preference (he launched his Tariff Reform scheme the following year, § 327); but they were too enamoured of their Protective Tariffs to be willing to lower them, even to each other or to the mother-country.

(Note that Edward VII was styled "King of all the Britains.")

First Imperial Conference (1907), presided over by Asquith. Note (a) the change of title; (b) the fact that it was *specially* summoned; (c) that it was presided over by the Prime Minister himself.

It was summoned to discuss Foreign Policy—the *Entente Cordiale* and the growing tension with Germany. The Dominions would be involved by Britain's policy, so must be consulted.

Second Imperial Conference (1911), presided over by Asquith.

Agenda: common action for Imperial Defence—a permanent committee set up for the purpose. The Great War foreshadowed.

THE WAR PARTY IN GERMANY UNDERESTIMATED THE COHESION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

No. 236.—PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM (1867-1914).

1872. BALLOT ACT (passed in Gladstone's First Ministry).

Made voting secret, which discouraged bribery and intimidation.

1883. CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT (passed in Gladstone's Second Ministry).

Purified elections by imposing penalties on indirect bribery, forbade hiring of carriages, limited the amount that candidates might spend.

1884. COUNTY FRANCHISE ACT (passed by Gladstone's Second Ministry).

Gave the vote to all householders, whether in borough or in rural districts, who paid £10 or more in rent. Net effect: enfranchisement of agricultural workers on the same terms as the Act of 1867 had enfranchised the town worker. (It also enfranchised many working-men who lived in towns not large enough to be separate "Parliamentary Boroughs.") Added two million voters, making a total of five millions. (Note that it enfranchised more than the two earlier Reform Bills put together.)

1885. REDISTRIBUTION ACT (which accompanied the County Franchise Act).

Disfranchised all boroughs of less than 15,000, merging them in county constituencies; and limited towns of less than 50,000 to one member each. The extra members were distributed among the biggest towns—London got 37 more.

1911. PARLIAMENT ACT (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Bills passed in three consecutive sessions by the Commons to become law without requiring the assent of the Lords; the duration of Parliament reduced from seven to five years. (Only passed after a fierce struggle with the Lords, § 329).

1911. PAYMENT OF MEMBERS (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Made it possible for working-men to become Members of Parliament.

No. 237.—DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT (1867-1914).

After the fiasco over Robert Owen's "Grand National" (§ 288) the movement was limited to Unions of skilled artisans who could afford substantial subscriptions, in return for which they received "Friendly Society" benefits.

Growing unrest because judges punished as "intimidation" the mere threat of a strike, and declared that Unions could not prosecute dishonest officials.

1871. CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT (passed by the First Gladstone Ministry).

Protected Unions against dishonest officials, and defined "intimidation" more closely; but left them liable to prosecution for "conspiracy."

1875. EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN ACT (passed by Disraeli's Ministry).

Declared that Unions could not be prosecuted for anything that would not be illegal if done by an individual.

DURING THE 'EIGHTIES "SOCIALISM" BEGAN TO TAKE HOLD OF THE MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE GREAT DOCK STRIKE OF 1889 (§ 321). "FIGHTING" UNIONS OF UNSKILLED WORKERS WERE NOW FORMED.

The *Taff Vale Judgment* (1901) decided that Unions were liable for all losses suffered by employers during a strike. The urgent need to get the law altered in this matter was the main cause for the birth of the LABOUR PARTY, of which the Trade Unions were the backbone. The undertaking by the Liberals to bring in the necessary legislation did much to gain them their overwhelming victory of 1906 (§ 327).

1906. THE TRADE DISPUTES ACT (passed by Campbell-Bannerman's Ministry).

Made Unions immune from prosecution for losses caused by strikes.

The *Osborne Judgment* (1909) declared that it was illegal for Unions to use their funds for political purposes (*i.e.* to support Members of Parliament, etc.). This decision deprived the Labour party of its financial mainstay. So they put pressure on the Government to get the law altered.

1913. THE TRADE UNION ACT (passed by Asquith's Ministry).

Made it legal for Unions to carry on political activities, provided (a) that a majority of their members were in favour of this, and (b) that any member could be exempted from payment towards such expenditure.

Syndicalism, a movement for the control of an industry by the workers employed in it, now gained adherents, especially with the South Wales miners.

Many great strikes took place, 1910-14; and a *Triple Industrial Alliance* was formed by three of the greatest Unions, in order to bring more effective pressure on employers (§ 330).

No. 238.—THE THIRD GREAT ERA OF REFORM (1906-1913).

1906.—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT extended to all trades the protection which had been applied to some by an Act of 1897.

TRADE DISPUTES ACT protecting the funds of Trade Unions (N237).

PROVISION OF MEALS ACT empowered Education Authorities to feed children who came to school hungry.

1907.—MEDICAL INSPECTION ACT brought all Elementary School children under medical supervision.

SMALL HOLDINGS ACT imposed upon County Councils the duty of providing Small Holdings, giving them powers of compulsory purchase.

1908.—OLD AGE PENSIONS established.

"CHILDREN'S CHARTER" protected children from evil influences, and set up special courts for juvenile crime.

1909.—SWEATED INDUSTRIES ACT set up Trade Boards to regulate wages and conditions of work in industries where Trade Union action was difficult.

HOUSING AND TOWN-PLANNING ACT endowed Local Authorities with powers for demolition of insanitary slums, and imposed on them the duty of seeing to orderly and systematic development.

LABOUR EXCHANGES established.

1911.—SHOP HOURS ACT regulated hours and conditions of shop assistants.

1911.—NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT (§ 328) established a system of compulsory insurance for the working-class.

PARLIAMENT ACT (§ 329) abolished the veto of the House of Lords.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS enabled working-men to become Members of Parliament.

1912.—THIRD HOME RULE BILL passed the Commons (§ 330).

1913.—TRADE UNION ACT (N237) empowered Unions to use their funds for political purposes.

No. 239. — BRITISH INDIA: VI. THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS.

During the 'nineties a Nationalist Movement arose, demanding self-government as had been granted to the Dominions.

Great difficulties in the way of European democracy: (a) dozens of distinct races; (b) hundreds of distinct languages; (c) religious jealousy between Hindus and Mohammedans; (d) caste system; (e) the vast majority illiterate.

Great indignation in Bengal over Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal ("Dyarchy") for purposes of administration (1905). Outrage and assassination.

The Liberal Government (1906-14) tried to meet the discontent by the largest practicable grant of self-government. In 1909 Lord Morley (Secretary of State for India) and Lord Minto (Viceroy) introduced important changes in the governmental system to ensure that Indian opinion should always be directly represented.

A certain number of elected representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council; an elected Indian majority brought into Provincial Legislative Councils (but it cannot control the Executive as in "Responsible Government"); Indians added to the Viceroy's Executive Council and to the Secretary's Council in London.

But these reforms were far from satisfying Indian demands.

No. 240.—PROGRESS OF SCIENCE: THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY.

The great feature of the scientific progress of the age was the application of electricity to the use of man.

COMMUNICATION:

1837.—Telegraphy.

1878.—Telephony.

1898.—Wireless Telegraphy.

ILLUMINATION:

1880.—Arc lamps (in G.P.O. and Liverpool Street Station).

1881.—Arc lamps (for street lighting, in London and Liverpool).

1882.—Vacuum bulb made electricity available for domestic illumination.

TRACTION:

1884.—Underground—Conduit tramway-system adopted by Blackpool.

1886.—Overhead—Trolley tramway system adopted by Leeds.

1900.—First underground electric railway opened—The Central, London.

As applied to INTERNAL COMBUSTION:

1891.—The first motor-vehicle.

1901.—The first dirigible balloon.

1903.—The first motor-bus.

1909.—The first practical aeroplane (Blériot flew the Channel).

Apart from electricity, note that *refrigeration* (developed in the 'eighties) greatly cheapened meat; and that the investigation of *Radio-activity*, which began in 1896, is leading to developments of which we even yet have not realised the full significance.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD X

(1867-1914)

1. "Gladstone was a true political disciple of Peel." Is there any truth in this statement? (OC '29.)
2. Contrast the political careers of Palmerston and Gladstone. (LM '23.)
3. Discuss the importance of three of the principal measures passed by Parliament during Gladstone's first Ministry. (LGS '24, LM '25.)
4. In what ways did Gladstone endeavour to settle the grievances of the Irish people before his conversion to Home Rule? (LGS '23.)
5. Give a brief study of the foreign policy of Disraeli. (LGS '23, NUJB '30, '32a)
6. Explain the statement: Disraeli rose to power as the champion of Tory democracy at home and imperialism abroad. (LGS '24.)
7. Do you regard Peel or Disraeli as the greater statesman in domestic affairs? (OC '29.)
8. Which of the two, Gladstone or Disraeli, was the greater (a) in domestic reforms; (b) in foreign policy? (OL '30.)
9. What was the attitude of this country towards the Eastern Question, 1815-78? (OC '32.)
10. Discuss the contributions of Disraeli to the development of the Conservative party. (LM '26.)
11. Consider how far Disraeli was justified in claiming to have brought back "Peace with Honour" from Berlin. (LM '25, OC '29.)
12. Explain why the Conservatives came into power in 1874 and the Liberals in 1880. (LM '25.)
13. Relate the course of events in Egypt leading up to the death of Gordon. (LGS '22, '25, OL '29, UW '31.)
14. Summarise the principal achievements of Gladstone's home policy. (OC '31.)
15. What was the "Irish Problem" after Catholic Emancipation, and how far was it solved by 1878? (OC '32.)
16. Describe the foreign policy of Gladstone. (NUJB '32.)
17. Compare the aims and methods of O'Connell with those of Parnell. (LGS '23.)
18. What were the effects of the Irish Question upon English politics in the time of Gladstone? (OC '32.)
19. Discuss Gladstone's Irish policy during his Second Ministry. (LGS '25.)
20. Trace the development of the Home Rule movement in Ireland during the reigns of William IV and Queen Victoria. (LM '24, OL '29, NUJB '30.)
21. "Instead of the Sovereign governing by means of the Minister, the Minister now governs by means of the Sovereign." In what ways have the events of the nineteenth century contributed to this situation? (LM '22.)
22. Whom do you consider the greatest statesman of the Victorian Era? State the grounds on which your judgment is based. (LM '22.)

23. Account for and illustrate Britain's distrust of the policy of Russia during the period 1815-78. (LM '31.)
24. State what you know of the New Imperialism of the 'seventies and 'eighties. (UW '32.)
25. What part did Britain play in "the scramble for Africa"? (Illustrate with a map.) (CWB '31.)
26. Trace the relations between Great Britain and South Africa down to the outbreak of the South African War.
(LGS '23, LM '24, OL '29, '30, NUJB '30, '32, LM '31, UW '31.)
27. What is meant by "Responsible Government"? Show how and when it was gained by either Canada or Australia. (UW '32.)
28. Indicate the main objects of British foreign policy between 1880 and 1901. (LM '25.)
29. Describe society in the Victorian age as it appears in any Victorian novelist. (OC '32.)
30. What light is thrown on the history of the period by any novel written before 1878? (OC '31.)
31. Outline the principal measures affecting education in England during the nineteenth century. (LGS '22, '24, OL '32.)
32. Trace the development of Trade Unions during the latter part of the nineteenth century. (LGS '22, '24, LM '24, OL '30, D '31.)
33. Trace the development of Local Government during the latter part of the nineteenth century. (LM '23, '24, LGS '24, OL '30, '32, CL '30.)
34. Outline the course of franchise reform during the nineteenth century. (LGS '24, '25, UW '32, OL '32.)
35. Outline the development in England of factory legislation.
(LM '24, CL '30.)
36. Mark the chief stages in the development of British colonial policy during the nineteenth century. (LM '25.)
37. Indicate the chief domestic and foreign, including colonial, questions with which Lord Salisbury had to deal between 1886-92 and 1896-1902. Describe his attitude towards any two of them. (CWB '31.)
38. Outline the relations between England and France, 1840-1902.
(LM '22, '24.)
39. Outline the relations between England and Russia during the latter half of the nineteenth century. (LM '23.)
40. Outline the relations between England and Turkey during the latter half of the nineteenth century. (LM '24.)
41. Outline the relations between England and China during the nineteenth century. (LM '24.)
42. Describe some of the improvements in communications effected during the nineteenth century. (LGS '24, LM '31.)
43. Describe and account for the different forms of federation in the countries of the British Empire at the close of the nineteenth century. (LM '25.)
44. Discuss the growth of British power in India during the second half of the nineteenth century. (LGS '25.)
45. What points of contrast appear to you the most striking between the social and economic conditions prevailing at the accession of Victoria and those which marked the close of her reign? (LGS '23.)
46. In what dangers was Great Britain involved at the end of Victoria's reign by her isolation from continental affairs? (LGS '25.)
47. What efforts were made by legislative means to improve the conditions of the people between 1900 and 1914? (OC '30.)

EPILOGUE

THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER

(1914-1934)

Some events stand out in history like watersheds in a continent: they mark the boundary between different aspects and climates and conditions of life. Such an historical watershed was the irruption of the barbarians into the Roman Empire (§ 6); another was the Renaissance (§ 83); and another was the World War of 1914-1918. We are living far too close to it to comprehend the changes which have been brought about in the destiny of mankind by that stupendous cataclysm. All that we can offer in this Epilogue is the brief mention of a few of the most outstanding events.

CHAPTER LXXVI

THE WAR

1914-1918

§ 332. 1914: MONS—YPRES—THE FALKLANDS.—The war party in Germany had hoped that Britain would be too handicapped by domestic discords to be able to fight, but they soon found their mistake. The Irish problem was adjourned by the passing of the Home Rule Bill, with the proviso that it should not come into force until after the war, when some means was to be found of meeting the objections of Ulster. A truce was called in all Trade Union disputes and in the campaign for Women's Suffrage. The Dominions and India hastened to raise forces to fight for the Empire.

If the war was inevitable, it could not have come at a more fortunate moment for Britain. Firstly, the fleet had just been engaged in manœuvres, and was therefore already on a war-footing. Secondly, the day after the Declaration of War was a Bank Holiday, and by keeping the banks closed for the next two days the Government was able to avert the danger of a financial panic. By the Thursday the Treasury had printed Notes, and Parliament had passed a law making these Notes legal currency instead of gold. Thirdly, Lord Kitchener happened to be at home on leave, and by promptly making him Secretary for War the Government gained the support of his great reputation for strength and efficiency. People had rather a shock when he prophesied that the war would last at least three years ; but the response to his call for volunteers to form a new army was overwhelming.

Meanwhile the British Expeditionary Force had been swiftly and silently transported across the Channel to take up a position on the left of the French line. Unfortunately it had not been realised how wide the German sweep through Belgium would be, or what vast numbers would be employed in it. The whole left wing of the Allied forces had to retire precipitately lest it should be enveloped. An alleged German Army Order referring to " the contemptible little British army " coined an expression which became a title of honour, for the *Retreat from Mons*, carried out in perfect order amid great difficulties, was a finer military exploit than many a glorious victory.

The Allies turned at bay at the Marne, and drove the enemy back to the Aisne. There they dug themselves in, and soon there was a continuous line of trenches from the Swiss frontier to the English Channel. During the rest of 1914 the Germans made determined efforts to gain the Channel ports, which the British used as their bases. In the long-drawn-out defence of Ypres the old British army was almost destroyed ; but by this time reserves were ready to step into the breach.

Meanwhile the Russians had tried to relieve the pressure on France by attacking East Prussia ; but they were swept back by

Hindenburg at the Battle of Tannenburg, and never again set foot on German soil. Trench warfare now began on the Eastern Front as well as on the Western.

The naval policy of the German Government was to keep their main fleet in port until mines and submarines had reduced the British strength to something like their own. The British fleet was unable to blockade them closely owing to minefields, and it therefore took up a position at Scapa watching for its enemy to appear. Several German warships were at distant stations when war broke out, and of these two managed to reach Constantinople, where their presence encouraged Turkey to enter the war on behalf of the Central Powers (November 1914). Four others which were in the Pacific destroyed a weaker British squadron off *Coronel* (Chili); but a month later they were themselves taken at a disadvantage near the *Falkland Islands* and completely destroyed. Thus by the end of the year the German flag had disappeared from the sea, and the Allies had a monopoly of sea-borne commerce for the rest of the War.

§ 333. 1915: TRENCH WARFARE—GALLIPOLI—COALITION GOVERNMENT.—During this year the trench defences on the Western Front was so developed by barbed-wire entanglements and machine-guns that none of the attacks made by either side made gains proportionate to the casualties they cost. Hand grenades and trench mortars and poison gas were also brought into use; and the industrial resources of all the belligerent countries were gradually concentrated on the production of war material.

There was much debate as to whether it would be better for the Allies to concentrate their strength for frontal attacks in the west, or to strike at points where the enemy was weaker—on the Turkish or Balkan fronts. On the whole, the generals favoured the former policy and the statesmen the latter. The result of this division of opinion was seen in the *Gallipoli* adventure of this year. An attempt was made to knock Turkey out of the war, so as to relieve the pressure on Russia; but the

War Office was so reluctant to spare men and munitions for the expedition that it was crippled; and after deeds of valour unsurpassed in the history of warfare (especially by the Australasian troops), the Gallipoli Peninsula was evacuated. An attack on the Turkish province of Mesopotamia also failed, the Anglo-Indian force engaged being forced to surrender at *Kut-al-Amara*. These two mishaps to the allied cause influenced Bulgaria to throw in her lot with Germany, and Greece (which had been on the point of joining the Allies) to remain neutral.

A Russian attack on Austria was met by a German counter-attack, which only ended when the Central Powers had established their trench lines well inside Russian territory. They might have pushed their advantage even further but for the fact that Italy declared war on Austria, in the hope of gaining certain Austrian provinces inhabited mainly by Italians. But this accession of strength was counteracted when the enemy overran Serbia in order to free their communications with the Turkish Empire along the Berlin-Bagdad railway.

The end of the year saw two notable changes in the British control of the war. Firstly, a number of Conservatives now joined the Asquith Government, and, for the rest of the war, Britain was ruled by a Coalition in which each of the three political parties was represented. Secondly, Sir John French was superseded in the chief command by Sir Douglas Haig.

§ 334. 1916: THE SOMME—JUTLAND—LLOYD GEORGE.—Military service was now made compulsory for all men of suitable age, and by the end of the year almost the whole nation was involved in war work, directly or indirectly. In order to release men to fight, thousands of women undertook work that had hitherto been done by men, as munition workers, tram conductors, postmen, lorry drivers, bank clerks, and so on.

The chief naval action of the war took place on 31st May. The German fleet came into conflict with the British battle cruiser squadron off *Jutland*. Two British ships were quickly

sunk ; but the German commander declined to be drawn into a conflict with the main British battle fleet, which was rushing to the scene of action at full speed, and sought the protection of his minefields under cover of mist and darkness. Admiral Jellicoe dared not risk the destruction of his capital ships by mines and submarines, and turned back to his base at Scapa. The Germans had inflicted more damage than they received ; but their High Seas Fleet did not venture out of port again for the rest of the war.

At home in England, air raids by Zeppelins did a good deal of damage without any appreciable approach to their main object of terrorising the civilian population ; and the destruction of several of these airships in the course of September did much to discourage this form of attack. A more serious difficulty was the rebellion which broke out in Ireland. The republican party there, now known as *Sinn Féin* (" ourselves alone"), took advantage of the Government's preoccupation with the war, and they had to be kept in check by a garrison which drew off troops urgently required in France.

The chief political event of the year was the replacement of Asquith by Lloyd George as head of the Coalition Ministry—the result of a feeling that the Government had not carried on the war with sufficient concentration of energy.

§ 335. 1917 : SUBMARINES—AMERICA—JERUSALEM.—At the beginning of 1917 the German Government began an intensive effort to starve Britain by means of submarine blockade. They announced that they would sink all vessels, of whatever nationality, proceeding to or from a British port. It was almost certain that this would bring the United States in against them, but they calculated that they would have won the war long before American forces would be ready to fight. For a time it seemed as if they might win this race against time, for they sank so many ships that the British nation had to be put upon rations. But great efforts were made to increase the production of foodstuffs and shipping, and various ingenious plans were

adopted for destroying the U-boats. By the autumn the country was out of danger.

The United States, as had been expected, declared war on the Central Powers ; but this important addition to the allied strength was for a time counterbalanced by the defection of Russia. The appalling suffering inflicted upon the poorer classes in that country by the war gave an opportunity to revolutionary forces that had long been working underground against the despotism of the Czar's government. The Czar was forced to abdicate, and a group of Communists known as *Bolsh viks* gained control. Their first act was to make an armistice as a preliminary to a reorganisation of Russia in accordance with their own political and social faith.

Several more futile " offensives " were made on the Western Front. At the time it was hoped that these attacks were wearing out the enemy's strength ; but we know now that our losses were always greater than theirs. Almost the only bright spot amid the general gloom with which the year ended was Allenby's capture of Palestine from the Turks. But it seemed a long way from Jerusalem to Berlin !

§ 336. 1918 : DISASTER—TRIUMPH—ARMISTICE.—The economic blockade with which the Allies (and especially the British navy) had ringed the Central Powers around caused great privations among their civil population as well as among their troops, and they were now running short of commodities essential to carrying on the war. They entered upon the campaign of 1918 determined to force matters to an immediate issue before the American army appeared on the Western Front. The collapse of Russia enabled them to concentrate almost their whole strength on that front ; and Ludendorff, who was now Commander-in-Chief, had devised new methods of attack which promised to be more successful than anything attempted in the past.

The Allies knew something of what was in store for them, and set up a joint Council of War in Paris to unify their de-

fences ; yet when the attack came it was so terrific that one British army was completely wiped out, the line was pushed back for miles, enormous quantities of war material and tens of thousands of prisoners were lost. By desperate efforts the breach in the line was closed up, and the losses in men and material were repaired ; but by June the Germans were back on the Marne and Paris was once more in danger. But the threatened disaster had driven the Allies to take two steps which now turned the tide—they appointed Marshal Foch to take command of the whole of their forces ; and they accelerated the arrival of the American troops. The realisation that a fresh enemy, with inexhaustible resources in wealth and manpower, had appeared in the field against them, was a crushing disappointment to the war-worn Germans. In August the British won a notable success, following a surprise attack by hundreds of tanks. French, American, and British armies side by side drove the enemy steadily back all through September. By this time Bulgaria and Turkey were in a state of collapse. Serbia was recovered by an attack from Salonica, and Austria—thus exposed to attacks from the south—was unable to offer any further resistance.

Revolutions now broke out in Germany, as a result of the terrible privations which the nation had so long suffered. The navy mutinied when ordered out to certain destruction. The Kaiser fled to Holland, and his abdication was followed by that of all the other ruling princes of Germany. A provisional republic was set up, and an armistice brought the fighting to an end at eleven o'clock on the morning of 11th November.

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE HARVEST OF WAR

1919-1922

§ 337. THE PEACE TREATIES.—During the first half of 1919 the most remarkable Peace Conference in world history was held in Paris. The Germans had agreed to the armistice on the understanding that the general basis of the settlement was to be the famous "Fourteen Points" in which President Wilson had set forth the war aims of the Allies (N242). These "Points" were open to very varied interpretations—it was only with great difficulty that the Allies themselves could be brought to an agreement as to what they really implied; but so complete had been the defeat and demoralisation of the Central Powers that they could not in any case renew the conflict, and were therefore compelled to accept the terms laid down by the victors. They were not even allowed to discuss them—the Allied Powers merely summoned their representatives to hear the decisions to be imposed upon them.

Thirty-seven Governments were represented at the Conference; but the real issues were settled at private meetings by the "Big Four"—President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, Mr. Lloyd George, and Signor Orlando. There were acute differences of opinion over some of the problems before them—as to the conflicting claims of Italy and Serbia to the eastern coast of the Adriatic, for instance. And throughout the discussions the great hindrance to a wise settlement was the fact that the statesmen were dependent for power on democracies whose patriotism had been fanned to fever heat by war passions.

President Wilson had immense prestige in Europe owing partly to his lofty utterances on democracy, and partly to the fact that he controlled the vast resources of the United States, which were much less impaired by the war than those of the Allies. He was therefore able to get his way when he insisted

that his project for a *League of Nations*—an international organisation to prevent future wars—should take precedence over all other matters before the Conference. The Covenant of the League formed the first part of the actual Treaties signed with each of the enemy Powers (N243).

But the dominant personality at the Conference was Clemenceau, the veteran French statesman, who was rigidly determined that the utmost advantage should be taken of the victory to ensure that Germany should never again be in a position to invade French soil. The Germans had hoped that by establishing a republic they would gain better terms from the victors ; but these could not well have been more severe in any case. They had to give Alsace-Lorraine back to France, and a large slice of Prussia to the new republic of Poland (N244) ; they were forced to admit their sole responsibility for the war, and were condemned to pay an indemnity so vast that the amount could not be fixed—it was to be settled later by a special commission ; they were to surrender all their war fleet and most of their merchant vessels ; their future army and navy were to be limited to the minimum necessary for defence, and they were forbidden to have submarines or air force. The Treaty was signed, after vain German protests, by the representatives of the belligerent Powers at a spectacular session held in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (June 1919).

In subsequent treaties the Austro-Hungarian Empire was completely dismembered ; part of it went to form the new republics of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia ; part was added to Serbia to form the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia, and so on. Similarly with the Turkish Empire ; its outlying provinces became independent states under the guardianship of Britain and France.

§ 338. THE RETURN TO PEACE IN BRITAIN.—A General Election was held in Britain immediately after the Armistice. Mr. Lloyd George claimed that the Coalition Ministry, which had brought the war to a successful conclusion, should be

entrusted with the twofold task of making the peace and organising the nation's return to civil life. The watchwords of the Coalition were (a) to "Hang the Kaiser," and call other ex-enemies to account for unlawful methods of warfare; (b) to "Make Germany pay" as much as possible of the cost of the war; and (c) to turn Britain into "A Land fit for Heroes" to live in. The nation endorsed this programme by sending to Parliament an enormous Coalition majority. The Labour party had now withdrawn its former support of the Government, and a considerable number of Liberals also stood as Opposition candidates under the leadership of Mr. Asquith; but in the new House of Commons these two wings of the Opposition could only muster 63 and 27 members respectively. The Liberal party was permanently crippled by the split, and the Labour party became the official "Opposition."

It must be admitted that the Coalition Government was not very successful in carrying out its pledges. The Government of Holland refused to give up the Kaiser, and the Allies made no attempt to compel it to do so. The efforts to extract the cost of the war from Germany ended in almost complete failure, as we shall see (§ 344). Nor was it easy to detect any marked improvement in social conditions in Britain. On the contrary, much confusion and ill-feeling arose over "demobilisation"—the return of the millions of temporary soldiers to civil life. There was an acute shortage of houses, and the Government's attempt to make it up fell ludicrously short of what was required. The cost of living had doubled during the war, and continued to rise even after the return of peace. A disastrous "slump" in business soon set in, which made it very difficult for the returning ex-servicemen to find employment. The Government found itself unable to provide the cost of a scheme to improve the education of the masses.

Thus there was a widespread feeling of disappointment and discontent which found expression in embittered labour disputes. The Trade Unions had gained greatly in strength during the war, when the demand for labour enabled them to

extort higher wages than ever before. They were determined to maintain these improved standards of living, but the employers were equally determined to return to peace conditions as soon as possible. The battle was first joined over the coal-mines. The miners demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and the "nationalisation" of the mines. After much negotiation, they gave notice that they would enforce these demands by a strike, and the other members of the Triple Alliance (§ 330) threatened to support them. At the last moment the Government induced them to postpone action while the matter was threshed out by a Royal Commission on which all parties would be represented under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sankey. After sitting for several weeks, a majority of the Commission reported in favour of a modified advance in wages and the purchase of the collieries by the State. These terms satisfied the miners, and the strike was averted. Then it was the turn of the railwaymen. Their wages had been doubled by a war bonus, and the Government (which had taken control over the railway system during the war) now proposed to make some reduction. In this case the strike actually occurred, and the transport system of the country came to a standstill for over a week. In the end the men gained most of their demands.

§ 339. THE "SUPPRESSED NATIONALITIES" OF THE EMPIRE.—The national feeling which had been one of the main causes of the war was intensified rather than allayed in consequence of it. This was made manifest not only by the birth of new national-states in Europe and Asia, but also in the British Commonwealth. The emancipation of the "Daughter Nations" was recognised by the fact that each of them sent its own delegates to the Peace Conference, and became separate members of the League of Nations. Britain has gladly acquiesced in this growing independence; but in other parts of the Empire nationalist aspirations led to bitter struggles in the years immediately after the war.

In *Ireland* the old "Nationalist party" was everywhere defeated by "Sinn Fein" (§ 334) at the election of 1918; and the members set up an independent government at Dublin instead of joining the Parliament at Westminster. When this act of defiance was followed by the murder of officials, policemen, and soldiers, the British Government declared Sinn Fein abolished, and arrested its leading members. After two years of atrocious murders and savage reprisals, the Coalition passed an Act which gave Ireland much completer Home Rule than Gladstone ever contemplated (§ 318); but by this time feelings had become so embittered that Sinn Fein would accept nothing short of an independent republic. The bloodshed continued until, in the middle of 1921, the republican leaders agreed to terms by which Ireland (except for the north-eastern corner, which had already established its own government) became a Free State with the same degree of independence as is enjoyed by the Dominions. A minority of extremists resisted the settlement; but their suppression was henceforward the duty of the Irish Government at Dublin. Several more years of assassination and executions followed before the country settled down.

To *India* the British Government had promised "dominion status" as soon as the Indians should be fitted for it;¹ but many native politicians were not satisfied by this undertaking, and their agitation has led to rioting and the murder of British officials. The apostle of the movement is Gandhi, who has connected it with a reaction against European civilisation in general. He desired his followers to refrain from violence, but to refuse to co-operate with the British Government and to boycott British goods. In 1929 a Commission under the

¹ The "Montagu-Chelmsford Report" (1917) was embodied in an Act of Parliament (1919) which set up a system known as "dyarchy." Certain departments of government in the various provinces were placed under Indian Ministers responsible to an elected assembly, while others (including finance and the maintenance of order) were "reserved" for officials appointed by the British Government. It was promised that the scheme should be enlarged after ten years, if it was found to work well.

chairmanship of Sir John Simon was sent out to study the problems on the spot ; and in 1930-31 " Round-Table Conferences " were held in London, at which all parties interested were represented. So far, however, little progress has been made towards a permanent settlement.

During the war the British Government had to make *Egypt* a Protectorate, strongly defended against possible enemy aggression ; but with the return of peace the desire to throw off the British yoke was so strong among the Egyptians that the Government gave way. In 1922 a Declaration was published making Egypt a sovereign state under a constitutional monarchy, the only limitations to its complete independence being the right of Britain to control the Suez Canal, the protection of foreigners and the government of the Sudan. A party of extremists continued to agitate for complete independence, and to enforce their claims by murdering British officials. When this party gained a majority at general elections, constitutional government had to be suspended for a time ; but the situation now shows signs of settling down.

§ 340. POLITICAL INNOVATIONS.—We have noted some of the immediate effects of the war upon the political and social life of Britain ; but these were unimportant compared with the revolutions which took place in other European countries.

At the time of the Russian Revolution (1917, § 335) the Allies had tried to bolster up the moderate party under Kerensky against the Communists under Lenin, who insisted on an immediate peace with Germany in order to establish the earthly paradise foretold by Karl Marx (§ 321)—the " dictatorship of the proletariat." The civil war between these parties went on long after the Great War had ended, and for a time the Allied Powers continued to support the " Whites " against the " Reds." Nevertheless, in the end the latter were completely successful, and they strengthened the grip of their *Union of Socialist Soviet Republics* by a reign of terror which crushed all opposition out of sight. The creation by this minority of fanatics of an entirely

new political, social, and economic system was a tremendous undertaking. For a time the other civilised Powers felt the same dread of "Bolshevism" that had been felt 120 years earlier of "Jacobinism" (§ 245); but the Bolsheviks, like their prototypes, have had to abandon their hopes of converting the whole world to their creed; and the feeling of hostility towards them is now dying down. It is impossible as yet to decide how far their vast experiments are likely to prove successful.

For a time these doctrines undoubtedly had a good deal of influence outside Russia. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary there were armed conflicts before republics with the normal type of parliamentary government could be established; and in half the countries of Europe—Turkey, Yugo-Slavia, Poland, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Austria—the normal working of parliamentary institutions has since been suspended in favour of dictatorships. Of these the most significant were those of Italy and Turkey.

The whole economic life of Italy had been thrown out of gear by the war. Unemployment and semi-starvation were rife; prices were doubled; business was crippled by lack of capital and high taxation; there were constant labour disputes, often accompanied by violence. Armed factions were on the point of civil war, and the constitutional Government seemed helpless to avert it. At last, in October 1921, an anti-Communist party known as *Fascisti* foregathered at Naples, and, marching on Rome, seized power by main force. Their leader, Signor Mussolini, became Premier, and organised a vigorous government in which he himself had all real power, the parliamentary monarchy being reduced to a mere shadow. It would seem that the majority of the Italian people find compensation for the loss of their "liberty" in the orderly and efficient government which the new régime provides.

Equally striking has been the development in Turkey. By the Treaty of Sévres (1920) the Allies deprived Turkey not only of its outlying provinces, but of part of Asia Minor.

But the landing of a Greek force at Smyrna, which had been allotted to Greece by the treaty, revived patriotic fervour among the Turks. Rallying round a revolutionary leader named *Mustapha Kemal*, they defeated the Greeks, set up a new republican Government, and compelled the Allies to reopen the question of peace terms. The result was the *Treaty of Lausanne* (1923), by which the republic of Turkey under Kemal retained the whole of Asia Minor, with Angora as its capital. Since then Kemal has created a new, powerful, and progressive Turkish nation.

This Greco-Turkish question led to the downfall of the Coalition Government in England. As we have seen, everybody was disappointed with that Government; and when Mr. Lloyd George proposed to support the Greeks in Asia Minor, the Conservatives felt that the time had come for them to break up the Coalition and become an independent party again. The General Election (November 1922) returned a Conservative majority, and Mr. Bonar Law became Prime Minister.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE AFTERMATH

1923-1934

§ 341. THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT.—With the break-up of the Lloyd George Coalition (which had always consisted mainly of Conservatives), the Opposition was made up of three distinct groups—the Labour party under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the “National Liberals” under Mr. Lloyd George, and the “Independent Liberals” under Mr. Asquith (who later became Earl of Oxford). In the following year Mr. Bonar Law was compelled to resign owing to ill-health. He was succeeded by Mr. Stanley Baldwin; and the fact that the Conservative party chose this comparatively unknown statesman as their

leader in preference to the far more experienced and famous Lord Curzon, marked the fact that it is almost impossible nowadays for a Prime Minister to be a member of the House of Lords.

Many Conservatives still adhered to the policy of "Tariff Reform" — the fostering of British industries by import duties; and at the end of the year Mr. Baldwin was induced to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country for authority to make a change in this direction. The threat to "Free Trade" was almost as fatal to the Conservatives as it had been twenty years before (§ 327). They lost 90 seats, of which Labour gained 50. All the Opposition parties were united over the fiscal question, and their combined votes turned the Government out. The King now summoned Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as head of the largest Opposition group, to form a Ministry. Thus the Labour party became responsible for the government of the country in little more than twenty years after its very humble beginnings (§ 328).

But though it was in office it was not really in power, for it was dependent on the support of the Liberal groups. It was therefore unable to pass any socialistic legislation. Many people were surprised that the Ministers, none of whom had any experience of office, were able to carry on the Government efficiently—especially in foreign affairs, which were in the hands of the Prime Minister himself. Their lease of office did not last very long, however. Before the year was out they fell under suspicion of being in league with the Russian Bolsheviks (§ 340). Mr. MacDonald had to dissolve Parliament owing to this, and after the ensuing election (the fourth in three years!) the Conservatives had a substantial majority over Liberals and Labour combined.

§ 342. THE GENERAL STRIKE.—During Mr. Baldwin's second Ministry (1924-9) the ill-feeling that had smouldered ever since the war between "Capital" and "Labour" burst into flame. The miners still nursed a grievance that the

Government had never carried out the recommendations of the Sankey Commission (§ 338); but the root of the trouble went deeper than that. The demand for British coal had fallen off after the war, owing to the facts that other countries were developing their own supplies, and that oil was displacing coal as fuel. The working-classes in general, and the miners in particular, had hoped that the war would result in better conditions for them, and that they would gain some measure of control over the industries on which they depended for their living. But the coal-owners declared that the mines could not pay higher wages in existing conditions. The miners replied that they could if they were nationalised; and these disputes led in 1920-21 to two strikes which only made the situation worse by driving foreign customers to seek supplies elsewhere.

The next few years were disastrous for the whole Trade Union movement. Trade declined, wages were further reduced, unemployment increased, membership of the Unions fell off. The leaders, finding that the strike-weapon availed them little, turned once more to political action; and by a great effort placed the Labour party in office in 1924. But, as we have seen (§ 341), the MacDonald Ministry could do little to fulfil the hopes of its supporters, and was soon forced to resign. In June 1925 another crisis arose. The Baldwin Ministry suddenly gave up the control of the mines which the Government had exercised ever since 1917. This threatened the miners with a further loss of earning-power, and they demanded a subsidy to tide them over until some new arrangement could be made. The Government at first refused; but when the other leading Unions organised "sympathetic strikes" it gave way.

The idea of putting pressure on Government and employers by means of a general stoppage of work had long been discussed by continental Socialists. We have seen what disaster followed Robert Owen's attempt to carry it out in the early days of the movement (§ 288). British Trade Unionists as a whole had no taste for such "revolutionary" expedients; but their success in extorting the coal subsidy turned their heads. When the

subsidy expired (1st May 1926) they threatened to support the miners by a General Strike unless it were renewed. Rather to their surprise the Government accepted the challenge, and the strike was declared. It lasted a little more than a week, and ended in a complete defeat for the Unions. There were four main reasons for this result. Firstly, the Government had foreseen the strike, and had prepared for it by organising an emergency system for supplying all parts of the country with the necessities of life. Secondly, the people who were hardest hit by it were the strikers and their families, who formed the bulk of the community. Thirdly, road transport carried on by amateur lorry drivers minimised the effects of the stoppage of railway traffic. Fourthly, the Trade Union leaders were not really "revolutionists" at heart, and were alarmed to learn that the strike was illegal.

The Government followed up its success by passing a new *Trade Union Act* (1927) which made it illegal to put pressure on the community by "sympathetic strikes," and put difficulties in the way of Trade Unions supporting Members of Parliament. But this did little to obliterate the deplorable effects of the episode on industry and trade, which in turn aggravated the unemployment which was already blighting the nation's welfare.

§ 343. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND DISARMAMENT.—The Great War, which had been the outcome of national passions, made those passions more intense than ever ; but it also brought home to the nations that they must find some way of "getting together" to prevent wars for the future. For European civilisation could hardly survive another such cataclysm, especially in view of the continual development of apparatus for destroying life and property. The League of Nations was established at Geneva ; but several of the greatest Powers—including Soviet Russia and the United States—did not join it, and if any Power refuses to obey its behests it has no means of enforcing them. Several attempts have been made to provide

some more definite guarantee of peace. One obvious step in this direction would be a limitation of the huge armed forces with which every Power is still burdened in spite of the "War to end War." And this was the more imperative because the victorious Powers had stated in the Treaty of Versailles that the disarming of Germany was merely a preliminary to a general reduction of these forces.

On the naval side something has been achieved. At the Washington Conference (1922) the three chief naval Powers agreed to limit the number and size of their "capital ships"; and though an attempt to apply the process to smaller vessels fell through (Geneva Conference, 1927), some further progress was made at the London Conference of 1930. But the attempts to restrict armies and air forces have failed almost completely. The outbreak of the Great War proved that the possession of huge armed forces does not make a country safe, yet no country would surrender a jot of its strength. Those who were working for peace realised that the unarmed League was powerless to give nations a sense of security, and various attempts have been made to provide something more positive in this direction than the Covenant of the League. But hitherto these discussions and conferences have done little more than reveal the difficulties which complicate the problem. For instance, if the limitation is to be by numbers, highly trained professional troops are worth more, man for man, than half-trained conscripts; whereas if the limitation is to be by cost, professional armies cost more, man for man, than the conscripts. Moreover, countries are very reluctant to pledge themselves to go to war in defence of a victim of "aggression," especially as it is almost impossible to determine which of two belligerents is really the aggressor.

Nevertheless, some progress has been made, chiefly through the growing habit of international co-operation in such matters as health precautions, crime, and conditions of labour; the League has entrusted certain Powers with "mandates" to look after territories as yet unfit for self-government, subject to

its own supervision ; and decisions of the Court of International Justice at the Hague upon questions of international law have so far been respected by disputants.

§ 344. THE PROBLEM OF WAR DEBTS AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.—One great obstacle to good feeling and prosperity has been the question of war debts and reparations. Most of the allied countries were forced to borrow from the United States during the war ; and Britain did so not only for her own use, but for her Allies. The repayment of such loans is almost impossible ; for what was borrowed was not money, but goods to wage the war with ; and no country is willing to receive repayment in the form of products which would interfere with its own industries. Britain has long since wiped out most of the debts due to her, but has found it difficult to come to a satisfactory arrangement with her American creditors.

A similar difficulty has arisen about the payment of " reparations " by Germany. The most fantastic ideas were entertained at first about Germany's capacity to pay the whole cost of the war, despite the fact that she had been more exhausted by it even than the victor Powers. In 1923 France tried to put pressure on the German Government by a military occupation of the Ruhr coalfields ; but this failed of its immediate purpose and had disastrous effects on the economic welfare not only of Germany, but of the world in general. As the ex-Allies declared that the repayment of their loans to America was dependent on Germany's payment of reparations, the United States sent over a Commission headed by Colonel Dawes to inquire into the actual facts as to Germany's ability to pay. The *Dawes Scheme* (1924) provided for a much reduced rate of payments ; but even this proved far beyond the country's resources. Five years later it was revised by another Commission, but this *Young Plan* (1929) had in turn to be suspended by President Hoover in 1931. Then, early in 1933, there was a revolution in Germany, which placed the National Socialist party in dictatorial power in much the same way as the

Fascisti had been placed in power in Italy ten years earlier ; and the new Government declared that it would neither go on paying reparations nor be bound by the clauses of the Versailles Treaty which limited German armaments. It passionately repudiated the " War Guilt " clause, and resigned from the League of Nations because the other Powers still refused to treat Germany as an equal.

The most disastrous trade slump in history overtook the world in 1930, and caused unemployment on a ruinous scale in every industrial country. There were two main causes of this. Firstly, the Great War had been fought mainly on credit, and the fearful expenditure of wealth that it involved (Britain spent about £7,000,000 a day on it in 1917-18) has to be made up sooner or later. Secondly, man has developed methods of production far beyond his capacity to exchange the goods thus produced ; and this has been accentuated by the economic nationalism which has made every country frantically eager to prevent other countries from competing with its own produce.

The Second Labour Government (1929-31) was in office when this " economic blizzard " struck the country. There was some danger that the Government would be unable to meet its financial obligations. The Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Philip Snowden) proposed to meet the crisis by drastic reductions in expenditure as well as substantial increases in taxation ; but some of their colleagues resigned rather than support a " cut " in unemployment benefit. Their places were filled by Conservatives and Liberals, who thus combined under a Labour Premier to form a *National Government*. The policy of Free Trade was abandoned in favour of duties and other restrictions on foreign imports, with a view to keeping the home market for British manufactures ; and taxation, already higher than in any other country in the world, was made higher still. Within a year the dangerous corner had been safely turned, and the country had been placed once more safely on the slow and difficult road to renewed prosperity.

§ 345. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON BRITAIN.—The War hastened many changes in the national life that were already under way when it began. Victorian prosperity had been based on the export of mass-produced textiles and coal and iron. We have seen that other countries had long been overtaking Britain in these matters (§ 320). They took increasingly drastic steps to prevent her from competing with their own nascent industries, and the strain of war made this economic nationalism into a ruling passion. Coal-mining was especially hard-hit by the development of fuel-oil and hydro-electric power. The result was that the nation was driven to abandon the economic "offensive" involved in the Free Trade policy (for a country that will not import cannot export), and fall back on the defensive tactics of keeping the "enemy" out of her own markets.

But the process has involved widespread unemployment in the old exporting industries. Fortunately the Industrial Insurance scheme, which had been developed before the War (§ 328), provided machinery for keeping the displaced labour from starvation; but an undue strain was put upon its funds. As originally designed, contributions balanced expenditure; but when, after the War, the percentage of unemployment rose from 5 to 15 per cent., the money to be distributed had to be borrowed in ever-increasing amounts from the Treasury. In common parlance Unemployment Relief is known as "The Dole," but it is not fair to these victims of a new Industrial Revolution to use such an opprobrious expression. Nevertheless there is grave danger that many of the unemployed will gradually become unemployable, through losing the habits and aptitudes of industry.

Of course, the country might recover some of her lost export trade if she could produce goods more cheaply; but this would probably involve reducing wages, and the nation as a whole is not prepared for such a step. The Trade Unions are still very powerful, and they feel that it would be a betrayal of trust to permit any recession from the improved standards of

living which have been gained by such long and bitter struggles. Moreover, the War threw all classes together in a brotherhood of endurance and sacrifice, and employers have too much sympathy for their employees to make any determined effort in this direction. On the whole it would seem that Britain prefers to be taxed to support a million and a half of unemployed rather than reduce the national standard of living.

There is another aspect of the matter. The lavish expenditure of public money during the War enabled far more people to indulge in pleasure than ever before, and this has been maintained since. It would have staggered our grandfathers to learn that every inhabitant of Britain attends an entertainment of some sort on the average five days out of fourteen. Moreover, motor-travel and the wireless have, in their different ways, brought amusement and fresh ideas within the reach of all but the most abjectly poverty-stricken.

One outcome of all this is that the balance of population has begun to swing back again towards the south. Industrial life no longer centres round the "heavy industries"—coal, iron, ship-building—or the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire; the industries that are flourishing to-day do not require the proximity of coalfields, and they find lower rents, pleasanter surroundings, cheaper power, and abundant road-transport in the neighbourhood of London—still incomparably the greatest distributing centre in the world.

Thus, although Britain is going through the difficult times which accompany every economic transition, the outlook is by no means depressing, if our younger generation will adapt themselves to the changed conditions. The nation has shown that its heart is as sound as ever. The resolute way in which it faced its financial crisis in 1931 won the admiration of the world; and we can boast that we are one of the few nations of Europe that are not daunted by the dangers and fatigues of democracy. The Briton still takes a pride in his time-proved parliamentary institutions; nor does he see in dictator-ruled countries anything that he envies.

NOTES ON THE EPILOGUE (1914-1934)

No. 241.—BRITAIN'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR.

IN EUROPE :

(a) Formed the left wing of the Western Front, particularly for the defence of the Channel ports. Took over more and more of the line from the French as the new armies were trained.

(b) Established a force in conjunction with the French at Salonica.

(c) Made a landing in conjunction with the French on the Gallipoli Peninsula with a view to an advance on Constantinople. (Failed.)

(d) Sent a contingent in conjunction with the French to stiffen Italians after their defeat at Caporetto.

IN ASIA :

(a) An advance on Bagdad up the Tigris (checked at Kut-al-Amara).

(b) Palestine overrun.

IN AFRICA :

The German colonies overrun by forces mostly drawn from South Africa.

ON THE SEA :

(a) The only German squadron at sea at the outbreak of war was destroyed near the Falkland Isles (§ 332). All other individual commerce raiders were also destroyed.

(b) The naval blockade resulted in slow starvation for the German population, and was the main cause of their collapse.

The German High Seas Fleet did not venture out of port after the Battle of Jutland (May 1916), though that engagement was claimed as a German victory.

(c) The American army was convoyed across the Atlantic in safety, despite enemy submarines.

No. 242.—PRESIDENT WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS."

Wilson's statement of war aims (made in January 1918) was accepted by both sides as the basis for peace when the armistice was signed in November 1918. The following is a brief summary:

I. No more secret diplomacy.

But the actual discussion of the peace terms went on behind closed doors.

II. Freedom of the seas.

This was intended to check the British practice of seizing neutral cargoes that might be useful to an enemy—a very old bone of contention (§§ 251, 264). It was dropped out of the treaties; but the United States took care to prevent interference for the future by building a navy as strong as the British.

III. The removal of economic barriers.

Those barriers are more numerous and higher than ever.

IV. All armaments to be reduced to a minimum.

They are greater than ever, except those of Great Britain.

V. An impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interests of the populations having equal weight with the claims of the Governments whose title is to be determined.

Practically all the German colonies came under British rule.

VI. Unhampered opportunity of development for Russia, under institutions of her own choosing, with cordial assistance from other nations.

The Allies made war on Soviet Russia, and afterwards hampered it by economic boycott.

VII. Belgium to be evacuated and restored.**VIII. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France, and all French territory evacuated and restored.**

The restoration was afterwards held to include the making good of all the damage done in the war—that is to say, the whole cost of it, including pensions to wounded and widows.

IX. Italian frontiers to be readjusted.

The rival claims of Italy and Yugo-Slavia to the eastern coast of the Adriatic led to much bitterness.

X. Subject peoples of Austro-Hungary to gain an independent existence.

This resulted in the creation of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia.

XI. Balkan frontiers to be readjusted on "historical lines."**XII. The non-Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be afforded opportunities of autonomous development.****XIII. "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, and should be afforded secure access to the sea. . . ."**

The Germans complain that the "corridor" which gives Poland access to the sea splits up Germany and robs them of territories indisputably German in population.

XIV. "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence. . . ."

No. 243.—THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

This forms the first part of the Treaty of Versailles, and of the treaties with each of the other enemy Powers. It begins as follows :

The High Contracting Parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war and by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations
Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Then follow regulations concerning admission, withdrawal, and the constitution of the League. It was to have a Council and Assembly and a Secretariat. France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States were always to have seats on the Council. Four more members of the League were to be elected to the Council by the Assembly from time to time. Except where otherwise provided, decisions in either Council or Assembly must be unanimous. The seat of the League was to be at Geneva. The Council was to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments, to be revised every ten years.

Then follow the all-important clauses about disputes likely to lead to war.

X. The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

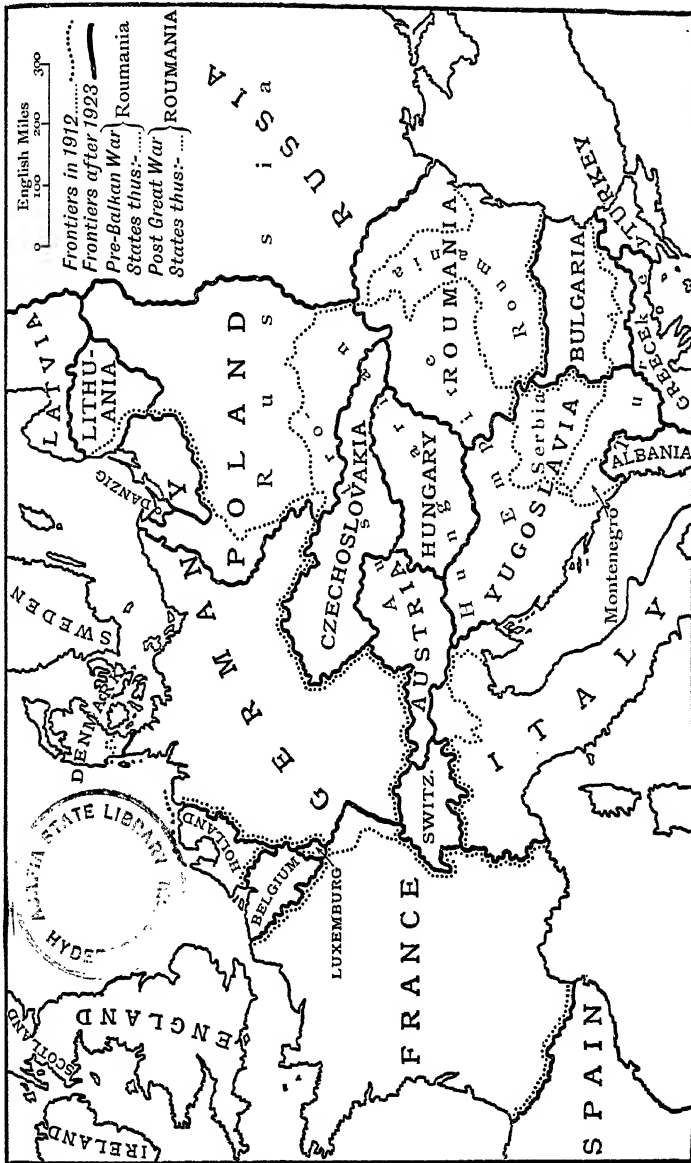
XII. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators on the report of the Council.

XVI. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of the Covenant, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other Members of the League, which hereby undertake to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations. . . . It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be raised to protect the covenants of the League.

The obligation to interfere in the affairs of Europe proved highly offensive to the American people, which has always had a horror of "entangling alliances"; and still more offensive to them was the possibility that under these clauses European Powers might interfere in the affairs of the American republics in spite of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 273). By rejecting the Covenant, Congress rejected the whole Treaty, and had to make a separate peace with Germany some years later.

XX. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and

THE NEW EUROPE AND THE OLD



that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Covenant.

Under this article France undertook the "mandate" to look after Syria, Britain those for Palestine and Iraq. (The last-named has since received independent status.)

Article XXIII is the great humanitarian and economic clause. Members of the League are to secure fair conditions of labour, and to assist in the international control of disease. The League is to supervise the trade in arms and in noxious drugs.

No. 244.—PRINCIPAL TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE TREATIES.

I.e. the Treaty of *Versailles* with Germany (June 1919), the Treaty of *St. Germain* with Austria (September 1919), the Treaty of *Neuilly* (November 1919) with Bulgaria, the Treaty of *Trianon* with Hungary (June 1920), and the Treaty of *Lausanne* with Turkey (July 1923), which replaced the Treaty of *Sèvres* (August 1920).

ALSACE-LORRAINE ceded by Germany to France.

These lands have been a bone of contention between the two countries for centuries.

THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND created out of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian territories.

Poland had once been a great state, but had been partitioned by neighbouring Powers in the eighteenth century.

THE REPUBLIC OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA created out of Austro-Hungarian territories.

Bohemia had also been an independent kingdom, until absorbed by the Hapsburgs in the seventeenth century.

THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES, generally known as YUGO-SLAVIA, consists of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Austro-Hungarian provinces inhabited mainly by Southern Slavs.

HUNGARY became an independent republic.

RUMANIA was enlarged by the cession from Hungary of Transylvania, which is inhabited mainly by Rumanians.

THE BALTIC REPUBLICS (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland) became independent.

They had been conquered by Russia from Sweden, but had retained a sense of separate nationality.

No. 245.—ATTEMPTS TO STRENGTHEN MACHINERY FOR PREVENTING WAR.

That provided by the League Covenant was too indefinite to give security.

I. *The Court of International Arbitration* at the Hague, consisting of experts in international law drawn from different nations.

So far its decisions (simply on questions of *law*) have been universally respected ; and it has performed a very valuable function in this way ; but reference to it is voluntary and optional.

II. *Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee* (1923)—all signatories to refrain from aggressive war and to come to the aid of any of their number which might be the victim of aggression.

But what is "aggression" ? All belligerents always claim that they are the victims of aggression ; Germany claimed that she invaded Belgium in 1914 "in self-defence." Britain refused to commit herself to make war on such vague conditions. The Treaty was rejected by the Labour Government of 1924, and therefore fell through.

III. *Geneva Protocol* (1924)—an attempt to provide a universal and uniform system of arbitration which all members of the League will accept.

It came to nothing, because Great Britain once more refused to bind herself in advance. This time it was a Conservative Government in power (1925).

IV. *Treaties of Locarno* (1925)—whereby Germany and her neighbours pledged themselves to refer any difference about frontiers to arbitration.

Britain and Italy guaranteed the Western frontier—*i.e.* they undertook to take military action against either France or Germany to enforce the Treaty. This was a grave responsibility, especially while France was armed and Germany unarmed ; but it seemed the best means of improving Franco-German relations ; and it led to Germany becoming a member of the League of Nations.

V. *The Kellogg Pact* (1929)—a mutual declaration brought forward by the United States by which all leading states (including Russia and U.S.A.) undertook never to use war as a means of gaining their ends, but to settle all differences by arbitration.

But it soon became clear that nations only signed with large "reservations"—they would not arbitrate upon matters affecting "national honour," for instance ; and the United States would not let the Pact affect the "Monroe Doctrine." (As a matter of fact, at the very time when the Pact was being signed, American forces were being employed against Nicaragua, a member of the League ; and this was about the time that the United States began a great scheme of naval expansion which did not suggest that they really trusted to their Pact.)

NO. 246.—THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS SINCE THE WAR.

"DOMINION STATUS" HAS COME TO IMPLY COMPLETE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE ; BUT THERE IS A GROWING TENDENCY TOWARDS ECONOMIC UNITY.

1919.—The Dominions became independent members of the League of Nations, and in 1927 Canada was elected to a seat on the Council

1921.—*Imperial Conference* (under Lloyd George) decided (a) that there should be no sort of federal constitution—Conferences to be held, as before, from time to time; and (b) discussed the question of naval power in the Pacific (which mainly concerned Australia, Canada, Japan and the United States).

As an outcome of this the Anglo-Japanese Naval Treaty of 1902 was not renewed in 1922; and the Washington Naval Conference (1922) agreed that Britain, America and Japan should have "capital ships" in the proportion of 5:5:3.

1922.—*Chanaq Incident*.—Lloyd George invited support from Dominions in preventing the Turks from driving the Greeks out of Asia Minor (§ 340), but South Africa and Canada demurred.

They thereby indicated that they were not going to be "jockeyed" into war without previous consultation.

1923.—*Halibut Fisheries Treaty* settled disputes between United States and Canada, all negotiations being carried on by Canadian and American Governments, and Canada refused to allow the British ambassador at Washington even to countersign the Treaty.

When the Locarno Treaty was signed (1925, N245) a special clause made it clear that the Dominions were not involved in Britain's guarantee.

Since 1924 some of the Dominions have kept representatives at foreign capitals: e.g. the Irish Free State has its own minister at Washington and Paris, while Canada has a minister at Washington, Paris and Tokio.

1926.—*Imperial Conference* under Baldwin discussed "Dominion Status"—the question having become urgent, because the South African Government, under General Hertzog, was very anxious to affirm independent nationhood. Committee appointed under Lord Balfour. Report of this committee embodied in the *Statute of Westminster* (1931), which affirmed complete equality of status.

"The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Governor-General to fulfil the same functions as the King—and not to be nominated by the British Government.

E.g. The King appointed in 1930 an Australian (Sir Isaac Isaacs) as Governor-General of Australia, on the advice of the Australian Government. This example was followed by Ireland.

The British Government and Parliament cannot veto any Dominion legislation.

1926.—A *Dominions Office* was established, separate from the Colonial Office.

The latter still has charge of the Crown Colonies, but the former is little more than a negotiating department, like the Foreign Office.

1931.—*Imperial Conference* (under MacDonald) followed the great American "slump" which precipitated the world-wide economic crisis. Conference tried to relieve the situation for the Dominions by stimulating inter-Empire trade.

Canada particularly wanted Britain to take her surplus wheat.

But the British Labour Government was wedded to Free Trade (especially P. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer), and this prevented preferential duties in favour of Dominions.

1932. *Imperial Economic Conference* at Ottawa (under R. B. Bennett, Canadian P.M.). By this time National Government had been formed in Britain (§ 344), and British delegates (headed by Baldwin) had a freer hand in arranging preferences, etc. Dominions very keen to protect their industries from British competition, but *some* progress was made towards inter-Imperial co-operation and exchange.

A dispute with Ireland over payment of interest said to be due from Irishmen has led to an unfortunate set-back to this line of policy. Each country has put special duties on the other country's goods. Injurious to Britain—ruinous to Ireland. But E. de Valera, the Republican Irish Premier, hopes to make Ireland a self-contained economic unit, independent of foreign trade.

No. 247.—LEGISLATION IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

1918.—**REFORM ACT** giving votes to all men over twenty-one, and all women over thirty.

Raised electorate to thirteen million men, nine million women. Women were made eligible for Parliament. First woman-member: Lady Astor (1919).

1926.—**ELECTRICITY (SUPPLY) ACT** set up Electricity Board to organise supply of power, by the grid system, all over the country.

Like so many post-War British organisations, the Board is financed by private enterprise, but controlled in the public interest by the Government.

1927.—**TRADE DISPUTES ACT**—see § 342.

PRAYER BOOK REVISION.—Convocation had for some years been engaged in making option changes in public worship in accordance with "High Church" views (N216). In 1927 the Prayer Book, containing the optional alternatives, was rejected by Parliament—apparently as strongly "Protestant" as in the days of the Civil War. In 1928 a modified version suffered the same fate.

1928.—**EQUAL FRANCHISE ACT** gave the vote to women on exactly the same terms as men.

Completed British democracy—it can go no further. The measure was ridiculed by a section of the Press as "The Flapper Vote." It made the electorate up to fifteen million women, thirteen million men.

1931.—**STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER**—see N246.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON THE EPILOGUE

(1914-1934)

1. Describe the British military operations in the World War in areas other than France and Belgium. (OC '32.)
2. Compare the reputation and influence of the British Empire at the end of the Napoleonic War with its reputation and influence after the World War. (OC '32.)
3. What effect did sea power have on the World War ? (OC '31.)
4. Is (a) the country labourer, (b) the town artisan, better off now than he was in 1900 ? (OC '29.)

* * * * *

5. What part was played by sea power in the War ?
6. Account for the defeat of the Central Powers in the War.
7. Outline the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
8. Sketch the career of Mr. Lloyd George down to 1922.
9. Compare the development of nationalism in Ireland, Egypt and India since 1914.
10. What is "Dominion Status" ? How has the connotation of the phrase been enlarged since 1914 ?
11. What has made Great Britain go back on the Free Trade policy which brought her prosperity during the Victorian Era ?
12. What have been the social effects of the War in Britain ?
13. What attempts have been made to insure against another great European War ?
14. How far were the Fourteen Points embodied in the Peace Treaties ?
15. Outline the effects of the War upon the British Empire.
16. How far has the League of Nations fulfilled the aims with which it was established ?

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

1830-1936

CHAPTER LXXIX

EARLY VICTORIAN BRITAIN

TO 1870

§ 346. THE GOLDEN AGE OF BRITISH FARMING.—In 1830 there took place the last Labourers' Revolt in British history. Farm-workers of the southern counties, driven desperate by wages of 7s. or 8s. a week at a time when bread cost more than to-day, went about burning ricks and breaking up threshing machines. The movement was crushed, hundreds of men and boys were sentenced to transportation, and nine were hanged. This tragic affair brings home to us the utter ruin which had fallen upon farming since the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. During that war there had been such a demand for farm-produce that land-owners and tenant-farmers had prospered. Anxious to take advantage of the high prices, they had ploughed for corn-growing much inferior land hitherto used only for pasture. But the slump in trade that came as soon as the war was over (§ 267) brought them to ruin. Unemployed town-workers could no longer buy their produce. Farmers who had borrowed money from the banks to develop their land could not pay the interest, and those who had leased farms could not pay the high rents they had promised. With the rapid growth of unemployment the poor-rate rose until it was over 20s. in the £ (§ 133). Thousands of farmers went bankrupt.

But round about 1837, the year of Victoria's accession, the tide turned, mainly through three changes that were coming over the whole social and economic life of the nation.

Firstly, large-scale production, already applied to manufactures, began to be applied to agriculture. People invested in farms, going cheap because farmers had been ruined, and cultivated them more highly than the old farmers had been able to.

Secondly, the scientific knowledge which was being applied to other practical uses was now brought in to solve the problems of farming. Hitherto much rich clay-land had been almost useless for growing crops—it was water-logged in wet weather, and baked in dry. It was now drained by the use of porous pipes, which draw the moisture through the soil, leaving the valuable chemicals contained in rain to fertilise it. Again, hitherto nothing was known about artificial manures; but in 1803 Sir Humphry Davy (the man who invented the safety-lamp for miners) had begun to study the chemistry of vegetable life; and in 1840 a German chemist, Baron Liebig, published a book on the chemistry of soils. Guano began to be imported from Peru, sulphate of ammonia was a by-product of the manufacture of coal-gas (now just coming into use), and the offal from slaughter-houses was turned into valuable phosphates. Labour-saving appliances were invented. A mechanical drill replaced the old method of broadcast sowing, reaping-machines enabled the farmer to get in his crops far more quickly than by the sickle, and in 1859 the first steam-plough appeared. These developments could only be applied by educated men. The Royal Agricultural Society was founded in 1837. Its first annual show was held in the following year, and its *Journal* spread valuable information. In 1845 the first Agricultural College was started at Cirencester. The old-fashioned farmers who went to market in smocks and kept their accounts by notches cut in a tally-stick began to disappear.

§ 347. BRITISH INDUSTRIES LEAD THE WORLD.—At the end of the Napoleonic Wars almost the only factory-work was cotton-spinning. Most weaving was still done on hand-loom; hosiery, boots, gloves, and so on, were nearly all made in the

workers' homes. Such industries were run by employers who supplied the raw materials and paid piece-rates for the finished articles. But from 1815 onwards the growing demand for these goods made handwork too slow. Machines were invented to carry on one process after another, and these machines had to be housed in factories.

Great new industries were also springing up. The demand for machinery caused a rapid growth in engineering, especially after Parliament in 1824 abolished the restriction on the export of machines.¹ When George Stephenson designed the first practicable steam locomotive, in the 'twenties, it was constructed by blacksmiths and millwrights from his drawings, in a very rough-and-ready way. But this sort of thing soon disappeared. Machines were devised to make other machines, and they became more and more accurate and powerful.

All this gave increased demand for iron, and for the coal to smelt it. New industrial areas grew up where these two minerals were found close together. On the borders of Yorkshire and Durham, for instance, the Cleveland ore was sent to be smelted by the Durham "coking-coal"; and the first railway was made to carry horse-wagons between Stockton and Darlington.

Stephenson's engine, the "Rocket," was designed for a railway opened in 1830 between Liverpool and Manchester. Steam-engines had long been used to pump water out of mines, and rails had been laid—also in mines—to lighten the labour of hauling heavy trucks; but this was the first successful combination of the two. When people got over their fear of the novelty, there was a tremendous boom in railway construction (N218). Hence there rose another great impulse for the "heavy" industries. Iron was required to make engines, for rails; and coal to smelt iron and raise steam. Other countries rushed to build railways, and for a long time they had to get all their rails and rolling-stock from Great Britain.

¹ Hitherto this had been forbidden lest foreigners should compete with our industries. The Act which removed this restriction also removed that on Trade Unions (§ 276).

The first ocean-going steamships, the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, both crossed the Atlantic in 1838, and during the next decade great shipping lines like the Royal Mail and the P. & O. were having steamships built as fast as possible. These ships were all built of iron, but within twenty years there was a further development. Bessemer discovered a cheap method of making steel, and the 'sixties saw this metal replacing iron for shipbuilding. And here again Britain had a big start over all other countries.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 (§ 289) was held to show the world what wonderful progress had been made in British industries, but far greater wonders were to follow. There was a feeling of confidence in the air. The Limited Liability Acts and the Bank Acts (§ 289) made it easier than ever before to procure the capital with which to increase production and start new enterprises, while the Free Trade Budgets of Peel and Gladstone enabled foreigners to buy British goods. The consequence was that the next quarter of a century saw our foreign trade advancing by leaps and bounds. In 1850 the exportation of goods to the value of £70,000,000 took people's breath away, but by 1860 the amount was more than doubled, and by 1870 almost trebled.

Many people gave all the credit for this prosperity to Free Trade ; but there were many other causes at work. The discovery of gold in California (1849) and Australia (1851) greatly increased the quantity of gold in use. This gave higher prices to all other commodities, gold being the universal standard of value ; and high prices always encourage production. Moreover, Britain had several advantages over other countries : she had easily-worked coal and iron deposits, and she enjoyed peace and quiet while they were absorbed in revolutions and wars.

§ 348. HARD TIMES CONTINUE FOR THE WORKING-CLASS.—Unfortunately little of the increased prosperity enjoyed by farmers and manufacturers between 1850 and 1875 was shared by the

working-class. The population had increased so rapidly, and so many of the new inventions were designed to economise labour, that the supply was always greater than the demand. Some people consider that this was one reason for the general prosperity. They argued that the low wages enabled employers to make profits which they used to extend their businesses ; whereas if these profits had been paid to workmen as wages, it would have been consumed instead of being saved. But other economists point out that a high rate of living creates a wider demand for goods, and so encourages manufactures.

No doubt in the long run the increase of machinery and factories was for the good of the working-classes. Conditions were bad, wages low, and hours long in the factories ; but they were better than having the whole family toiling from morn till night in the wretched hovels they called " homes," to earn barely enough to keep body and soul together. The domestic workers struggled on desperately in some industries, but they could not compete with mass-producing machinery ; and by the middle of the century they had all been starved out of existence. That expression, " starved out of existence," stands for lives of long-drawn-out misery for millions. People of the next generation spoke with horror of the " hungry forties," but as a matter of fact the 'thirties were still hungrier ; nor were the 'fifties much better, in spite of the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846), which ensured that bread should never again be so ruinously dear as it had been in the past. And an additional cause of distress was the sudden abolition of the old system of Poor Relief in 1834 (§ 283).

§ 349. " NEW MODEL " TRADE UNIONISM.—One of the chief reasons why Chartism faded out after the fiasco of 1848 (§ 288) was that working-men now turned to a different method of improving their lot.

Trade Unionism had almost disappeared after the collapse of Robert Owen's " Grand National Consolidated " (§ 288) in 1834, but it now revived in a new and more solid form. Owen

had failed because he tried to do too much to bring about a social revolution by a national strike of the whole working-class. The "New Model" unions which sprang up after 1850 were restricted to the members of particular skilled crafts who could pay a subscription of 1s. a week or thereabouts. They gave their members "Friendly Society" benefits, such as sick pay and unemployment pay. They were managed by paid officials who gave their whole time to the work. Among the most famous were the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, founded by William Allan, and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, founded by Robert Applegarth. Their titles suggest how they sprang up: they were amalgamations of a number of the little local unions which were too weak to stand alone. They were not Socialists: Socialism was as yet unknown in this country. Nor were they aiming at a "revolution." The officials detested "strikes," which depleted their funds. The public opinion which forced through the Reform Bill of 1867 (§ 306) was largely due to the propaganda organised by them, and it was mainly the better-class artisans whom they represented that gained the vote by that Act (N219).

The Unions were particularly anxious to gain some influence in Parliament at this juncture. In several cases recently tried in the Law Courts, judges had decided that the Act of 1825 (§ 276) merely made Unions lawful; it did not allow them to threaten employers with a strike, or to prosecute officials who absconded with their funds. The Trade Union leaders threw their influence in favour of the Liberals in the election of 1868 (§ 307), in the hope that Gladstone would put through an Act to put these matters right. But his "Criminal Law Amendment Act" (N237) did much less for them than they had expected; so at the next election they supported the Conservatives. The "Employers and Workmen" Act of 1875 put them on a much sounder footing, and it remained the basis of Trade Union law for a quarter of a century.

But all this applied only to skilled artisans; the masses of unskilled labourers, struggling to bring up a family on £1 a

week or less, could not afford to belong to such Unions. They remained hopelessly unorganised, and politicians troubled little about them because they had no votes. Their deplorable position was made evident when Joseph Arch in 1871 formed a union of Agricultural Labourers, one of the most downtrodden classes in the country. For a year or two the movement spread rapidly, and local branches asked for wages to be raised to 14s. or 16s. a week. But landlords and farmers became alarmed, and by refusing to employ any member of the Union they brought about what in industrial trades is called a "lock-out." After a desperate struggle through the summer of 1874 the labourers were forced to give in, and the Union was almost wiped out of existence.

§ 350. THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.—Nowadays Parliament is constantly passing Acts for the welfare of the poor, but in those days most people believed that this sort of thing did more harm than good.

The ruling class was much influenced by the writings of Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Up to his time most people thought that laws ought to be based on old-established rights, or on "the natural rights of all mankind"; but Bentham declared that they ought to aim at "the greatest good of the greatest number." This "Utilitarianism" sounds sensible enough; but Bentham went on to lay down the more doubtful doctrine that "Every man is the best judge of his own happiness." This confirmed Adam Smith's principle of *Laissez Faire* (§ 255)—that the Government ought not to interfere in such matters as prices and wages and conditions of labour. These ought to be left to find their own level, in accordance with the "law of supply and demand." It was this view that made people oppose so bitterly Lord Shaftesbury's efforts to limit by law the hours of work in factories and mines.

Among the firmest supporters of *Laissez Faire* were "the Manchester School," the leading lights of which were Cobden and Bright (N214). They opposed Protection because it inter-

fered with the natural flow of trade, and made nations hostile to each other ; they advocated peace at almost any price because armies and navies meant high taxation, which took away money that might have been invested in business which would bring increased prosperity to all.¹ And they argued that "enlightened self-interest" would convince employers that it was to their own advantage to pay wages high enough to feed, house, and clothe their employees properly.

This point of view was attacked by many of the notable writers of the period. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) declared that the Chartist agitation was putting a grave question to rulers : What are you going to do about the condition of the workers ? If England could not find a satisfactory answer, she would come to ruin. His *Past and Present* (1843) contrasted modern industrial England with the England of the Middle Ages—much to the advantage of the latter. Carlyle's writings had great influence on John Ruskin (1819-1900). Originally a writer on art, he later turned his attention to social and economic problems, denouncing the ugliness of the industrial system and its evil effects on the body and soul of man. Disraeli wrote novels (especially *Coningsby* and *Sybil*) to suggest that the best hope for the evils of the day was what he called "Young England"—for the younger members of the aristocracy to lead the poor, and overthrow the parliamentary power of the middle class. Charles Kingsley wrote pamphlets and novels setting forth the ideals of what we may call "Practical Christianity" (N216). But perhaps the most influential of all was Charles Dickens (1812-1870). In *Oliver Twist* (1838) he showed to his tens of thousands of readers what the new workhouses (§ 283) really meant to those who had to live in them ; and in *Hard Times* (1854) he depicted the evil results of *Laissez Faire*.

¹ It was Cobden who arranged the Commercial Treaty with France in 1861 (§ 204)—a good example of both these aims.

CHAPTER LXXX

LATER VICTORIAN BRITAIN

(1875-1901)

§ 351. IN THE TROUGH.—The prosperous times described in the last chapter came to an end about 1875. For several years trade declined rapidly—then it recovered slightly—then fell again during the middle 'eighties. Periods of prosperity had often alternated with periods of depression in the past, but the change was felt much more acutely now that the country had become "industrialised." The small-scale producer of the old days was too closely in touch with his market to overestimate the demand for his goods, and if he made a miscalculation it affected very few people besides himself. But the modern manufacturer, with machinery capable of turning out immense quantities of goods, is always eagerly seeking new markets. When he discovers one (or creates it), other manufacturers rush in to share the profits. They extend their plant and take on fresh "hands." This increases the demand for all sorts of other commodities—building materials, machinery, transport, all the goods consumed by working-class families. Money circulates freely, for when large profits are certain the banks are ready to lend at low interest to manufacturers. But sooner or later the tide turns. The market is "glutted"; surplus goods have to be sold at a loss; prices come down with a run. Workmen are discharged and can no longer afford to buy more than the barest necessities of life. The banks refuse to advance money. All trades and industries and occupations are so interlocked that all suffer alike; and now that commerce is world-wide, the effects of such fluctuations are felt from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand.

No doubt one cause of this particular depression was several successive bad harvests. In the past when crops were small prices rose, and this enabled the farmer to pay his way. But

now he had to face a new kind of competition. During the first twenty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws little foreign corn had entered the country. There were wide open spaces in the world where vast quantities could be grown ; but as yet these regions were quite undeveloped, and they remained so until railways brought them into contact with the seaports where the wheat could be shipped. And railway construction over thousands of miles of uninhabited country takes time. In 1860 the United States had only 30,000 miles of railway, but by 1890 this had been increased fivefold. In Canada during the early 'eighties the Canadian Pacific Railway joined up the wheatlands of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan with the two oceans. Supplies from those sources began to pour into Britain, for American and Canadian farmers had advantages which more than counterbalanced the cost of transport : their land was cheap, and they could use machinery on a vast scale ; and it was virgin soil which required no manure and no fallow periods to enable it to bear crops year after year.

And if the unfortunate English farmer turned to dairy produce or live stock, he was faced with competition from another source. For refrigeration now made it possible to send cheese and butter from New Zealand, beef from Argentina, mutton from Australia, at prices with which he could not possibly compete. Soon the same process was applied to fruit ; and the invention of a really air-tight tin container about 1870 opened up yet another means of importing preserved food-stuffs.

Of course, these changes were not all injurious from the point of view of the British working-class : it gave them cheaper and more varied foods than they had ever enjoyed before. And it greatly stimulated British shipping. Two inventions soon after the middle of the century greatly increased the carrying power of steamships. The compound engine economised the use of coal, by doubling the power it developed ; while the surface condenser reduced to a fifth the quantity of fresh water that ships had to carry. Thus much more space was now available for cargo.

The heavy industries suffered in much the same way as agriculture. Britain had been the first country in which the Industrial Revolution had developed, and up to this stage she had kept the advantage of this flying start. For thirty or forty years her goods had almost a monopoly in the world's market, especially in the supply of coal and steel. British manufacturers had invested huge sums in establishing mines and factories in order to profit by this demand. But this state of things could not last for ever. Other countries—especially Germany and the United States—were now developing their own resources, and in the 'nineties they began to compete with it in the markets of the world.

§ 352. THE END OF *LAISSEZ FAIRE*—When Lord Salisbury made his famous remark, "We are all Socialists now," there were very few professed Socialists in Parliament. What he meant was that in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century public men had come to believe that the Government has a right and a duty to interfere in the lives of people for their own good. The gospel of *Laissez Faire* (§ 350) was dying out. Until the First Reform Bill (1832) the main business of Parliament was to control the government of the country; it rarely tried to devise laws to do good to people. Even after 1832 many badly needed reforms, such as the Factory Act and Municipal Reform, had to be forced through Parliament almost against its will; and two terrible outbreaks of cholera were required to convince the rulers that a Board of Health ought to be set up to encourage the provision of pure water and efficient drains.

After the Second Reform Bill (1867) had given the vote to the artisan class, politicians had to win the support of a much greater number of voters, by promising to do things for them. Gladstone's ministry of 1868-74 provided them with schools, for instance. But Gladstone himself was never really interested in social reform, whereas his rival had made it part of his political creed (N222). Modern social legislation really began with the reforms passed during Disraeli's ministry of 1874-80,

mainly through the activity of his Home Secretary, Richard Crosse (N223). Perhaps the most important in its consequences was the Artisans' Dwelling Act. In 1871 Gladstone had re-constituted the Health Board as the "Local Government Board." But it could only *permit* local authorities to look after the health of their citizens; Crosse's Act of 1875 gave power to compel them to do so.

From that time the tide of reforms has flowed on—sometimes falling to a mere trickle, but sometimes rising to a raging torrent. Two of the periods of spate were 1906-1914, when "practical Socialism" was at its height, and the years after the war, when the Coalition Government was trying to fulfil its promise to make Britain "a land fit for heroes."

This social legislation may be divided into three categories : (a) Acts to promote the physical health of the people—from restrictions on building to the provision of free milk in schools ; (b) Acts to regulate hours and conditions of labour in mine, factory, shop, and warehouse ; and (c) Acts to guard people against their own folly, by hindering them from drinking and gambling, for instance.

Many of these matters are regulated by Town and County Councils (N224). These bodies have been given power to levy rates and borrow money, to provide people with roads, drains, street lighting, police, hospitals, schools, libraries, wash-houses, and so on. It was to regulate and co-ordinate these activities that the Local Government Board was set up ; but the main purpose of this Government department was indicated by the fact that in 1921 it became once more the Ministry of Health.

One effect of all this has been a great increase in "bureaucracy"—government by officials. Factory inspectors see that each worker has the lawful cubic space ; School inspectors see that teaching is up to the required standard ; Board of Trade inspectors see that cattle are free from disease ; Sanitary inspectors see that drains are in good order, and so on. People sometimes find all this rather irksome, but nobody really wants to go back to the chaos of *Laissez Faire*.

§ 353. SOCIALISM.—The slump of the late 'seventies made the condition of the poor a subject of general interest to the middle and upper classes. General Booth started his "Salvation Army" in 1878 to save men's souls, but he soon found that he must begin by "rescue work" to save their bodies. "Settlements" were founded where Public School and University men lived and worked among the poor, the most famous being Toynbee Hall in the East End of London. "Slumming" became a fashionable pastime with well-meaning young ladies.

The feeling that "something must be done" to grapple with the problems was also the mainspring of the Socialist movement that sprang up in the 'eighties. The basis of the economic theory of *Das Kapital* (§ 321) was that workers are entitled to the "surplus value" which they have added to the raw material provided by nature. Henry George (an American), in his *Progress and Poverty*, sought to show that poverty could be cured if governments would make a tax on land their sole source of revenue.

The first Socialist organisation was the Social Democratic Federation, founded in 1884 by H. M. Hyndman, a Cambridge man. Its members looked forward to a revolution by which the State, controlled by the working-class, would take over ownership of the land, the banks, the railways, all factories, workshops, and mines, so that these "means of production and distribution" could be run in "the interests of the community instead of in the interests of landlords and capitalists." A little later came the "Fabian Society," in which the leading lights were Sidney Webb (later Lord Passfield) and Bernard Shaw. With much the same ideals as the S.D.F., the Fabians had less dramatic methods. They aimed at gradually "permeating" City Councils and County Councils and Parliament with the spirit of Socialism. They would support Liberals or Conservatives or anybody else who would push on with the "spadework" of Socialism by bringing gas, water, trams, and so on under public control.

But the working-class, in whose interest all these ideas were

propounded, were too taken up with the struggle of life to be able to give much attention to them. It was the Great Dock Strike of 1889 that marked the turning-point in the history of British labour (§ 321). The money subscribed by other workers to support the strikers (£30,000 came from Australia alone) seemed to suggest that if "labour" were united it could achieve wonders. Moreover, the young Trade Union officials who led the strike were all Socialists. So the new "fighting unions" of unskilled labourers were distinctly Socialist in their aims, and those aims gradually spread to the other Unions, largely through the annual meetings of the Trade Union Congress.

Yet their leaders were never dangerous firebrands like the leaders of Labour and Socialist movements abroad; for our democratic institutions gave them an opportunity of working for their objects by constitutional methods. John Burns, for instance, became an active member of the London County Council (N224) soon after it was formed, and worked for the betterment of conditions in the metropolis. When the Trade Union Congress joined forces with the I.L.P. (§ 328) to build up the "Labour Party," he was elected to Parliament; and a few years later he became a member of the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade.

§ 354. VICTORIAN ART AND LITERATURE.—The adjective "Victorian" is generally used to imply "ugly" or "stupid" when applied to the fine arts, but this is not altogether justified. It is true that the first twenty years of Victoria's reign was a period of solid but unlovely fashions in architecture, furniture, and dress, a period when Landseer was considered a great painter and Sterndale Bennett a great composer. But there is another side to the picture. Very few periods in English history have had two such distinguished poets as Tennyson and Browning, not to mention close on a dozen more of only slightly less eminence; while the novelists of the reign—from Dickens and Thackeray at the beginning of it to Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) and George Meredith (1828-1909) towards

its close—exceeded both in quantity and quality of output those of any other age or land.

And in other departments of art a remarkable renaissance began soon after the middle of the reign. A group of young painters formed what they called a “Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.” Discarding conventional painting based on the work of other artists, they drew their inspiration from nature as seen through their own eyes, as they supposed the painters of the early Italian Renaissance to have done. The most famous of them was Sir John Millais (1829–1896), who lived to become President of the Royal Academy and to be recognised as the greatest painter of the Victorian era; others of the group were Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, and Holman Hunt. The French impressionists who sought to convey their emotion without distracting attention by irrelevant detail had counterparts in England—James McNeill Whistler (who was an American by birth, but spent his whole artistic life in this country) and G. F. Watts (1817–1904), who made a mark both in portraiture and in symbolical paintings in which he tried to instil moral and spiritual ideas.

The latter part of the period saw a marked advance in the love of beauty, especially as applied to articles of everyday use. Much of this was due to the interest in “Arts and Crafts” inspired by William Morris (1834–1896), who, after making a mark both as painter and poet, turned his attention in the early 'eighties to applied art—the design and manufacture of beautiful furniture, fabrics, wall-paper, printing-type, and bookbinding. He sought to revive the pride of the medieval craftsman in his skill, and his joy in exercising it, which had been crushed out of existence by the machine-production of the industrial age.

But perhaps the most striking advance was in music. As a composer of light music Sir Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) can bear comparison with the best. Sir Hubert Parry and Sir Charles Stanford were composers of some distinction, who did much to spread the love of good music among the educated classes. And at the very close of the era the production of the

"Enigma" Variations (1899) and "The Dream of Gerontius" (1900) made it evident that in Edward Elgar (1858-1934) England had a great composer—her first since the death of Purcell in 1695.

CHAPTER LXXXI

TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITAIN

§ 355. NEW CONDITIONS.—A whole volume would be required to give even an outline of the social and economic changes which have come over our country since the death of Queen Victoria. In this brief chapter we cannot do more than give their general direction.

Of course, the dominating factor of the period was the Great War. At the time it seemed that it had caused a revolution in the social and economic structure of the nation; but now that it is a quarter of a century behind us we can see that in many respects it merely hastened changes that were already taking place. In that respect as in others, its effects resembled those of the last great war—that fought against Napoleon.

For instance, it gave a further impulse to the mechanisation of industry. With the whole nation mobilised for war for the first time in its history, there was a tremendous demand for machinery; which, when once devised and constructed by expert engineers, will turn out goods with a minimum of attention.

Another tendency strengthened by the war was the improvement in the pay of unskilled as compared with that of skilled labour. In the middle of the nineteenth century there had been a marked distinction between them; but the Trade Unions had always worked for a levelling up of the lower grades, on the general principle that every man has a right to a wage sufficient to enable him to bring up a family in reasonable comfort. And as we have seen, much of the increased demand

for labour in war-time was for machine-minding, which made special training unnecessary.

The war caused a spectacular advance in the position of Trade Unions. Just before it broke out they were struggling desperately to compel employers to recognise their existence by "collective bargaining" about wages and conditions of labour. But the war changed the position. There was an ever-increasing demand for munitions just at a time when more and more men were being taken for military service. The result of the war depended largely on keeping these workers in a good humour. With this in view the Government constantly consulted Trade Union officials, agreed to their demands for increased pay, admitted them to the Cabinet; and when the conduct of the war was left to an inner cabinet of three, one of the three had to be a representative of Labour.

The experiences of the millions who served in the forces overseas also accelerated changes which had already begun. The spread of education had long since begun to break down the old barriers between the classes; but the process went on much faster as a result of the comradeship of the trenches, where a man was a man for a' that, and where a large proportion of the officers had risen from the ranks. And men came back from the war with a wider experience of human nature, picked up from contact with all sorts and conditions of men—townsman with countryman, rich man with poor man, Briton with Colonial and foreigner.

§ 356. THE WAR AND THE FARMER.—Perhaps the most notable effect of the war on farming was that it compelled the Government to take an interest in the subject. Up to now the idea that it mattered to the nation what use was made of its land had hardly occurred to most people. Each farmer worked his holding according to his personal skill and tastes, and according to his conception of what would pay him best. To be sure, the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) had in the long run made it unprofitable for him to grow corn on a

large scale ; but that fact had merely negative influence on his methods. By her Free Trade policy England had transferred her corn-growing to the plains of America and Russia, where it could be done more cheaply than at home. Wheat is a cargo easy to handle, and is a convenient commodity for foreign countries to exchange against our manufactured goods. Moreover, as the British nation grew richer, more and more people were ready to pay high prices for home-bred meat. "Down corn and up horn" became the farmers' motto. They let their ploughs rust, and laid down their land to permanent pasture, while for winter cattle-food they relied on roots and imported "cake." Just before the war, of the 40,000,000 acres of farmland, 36,000,000 were devoted to stock-raising in some form or other. For four-fifths of its daily bread the nation was dependent on overseas trade.

But the war changed all that. All the available manufacturing plant had to be turned to making munitions and other articles for the fighting services, instead of making articles for export ; and on the other hand it became imperative that the land should provide as much as possible of the nation's food. Enemy submarines were systematically destroying our merchant vessels with a view to starving us into surrender ; and apart from this every available ship was needed for the transport of men and material. Thus the story of farming during the Napoleonic War was repeated. The soaring price of wheat encouraged farmers to put all their savings and all they could borrow or raise on mortgages into ploughing up their grass-lands for corn and potatoes. This was a more expensive business than it had been a century earlier, for motor-tractors, mechanical reapers, binders and threshing-machines, greatly increased the initial expenditure of capital, while the withdrawal of skilled workers for the forces made such methods of economising labour more necessary than ever. When farmers became nervous lest the high prices (which alone made such high cultivation profitable) should collapse after the war, the Government reassured them with the Corn Production Act (1917). If the price of wheat

fell below 68s. a quarter for the next seven years, the Exchequer would make up the difference to the farmers. In 1920 the price had risen to 80s., and the Government felt it could safely put this arrangement on a permanent footing by the Agriculture Act. But in the following year there were ominous signs of a collapse in prices. The Government, fearing it had made a bad bargain, hastily withdrew the Act. They were only just in time, for in 1923 the price of wheat fell catastrophically to 42s. The great post-war slump had begun. Mankind had not ceased to need bread, but had ceased to be able to buy it. The result was ruin to a large proportion of that generation of farmers, especially as they were still compelled to pay wages double of those customary before the war. As a century before, new men took over the farms and profited by the experience which had cost their predecessors so dear. There followed another swing back to dairy-farming. The arable area has shrunk back to its pre-war proportions. Increasing grassland and developing mechanisation are steadily reducing the numbers employed in agriculture. The sons of agricultural labourers get jobs in towns. Everybody regrets this "flight from the land," but nobody can see what is to be done about it. The consumer (who is all of us) objects to food-prices being raised by corn-duties, and the taxpayer (who is also all of us) objects to the payment of subsidies to hinder the working of economic forces. Of course there are exceptions.

§ 357. THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE WAR.—The struggle against Napoleon was a very small affair compared with the war of 1914-18; but it was much the greatest war the country had ever waged until then, and the economic strength of the nation was much less than it became in the course of the following century. It is not surprising, therefore, that the fluctuations of good and bad times that followed the two wars had much the same course. The immediate effect of the return to peace conditions, in 1816 as in 1919, was a general dislocation and confusion, intensified by demobilisation. In 1818 there was

temporary revival of general prosperity, followed in 1819 by a relapse into depression which we remember by the Peterloo Massacre (§ 269). Much the same thing happened a century later. The year 1920 saw prices and wages higher, and business more active, than even during the war; but this was due to the fact that people and Government were still spending money borrowed for the war, and that could not go on for ever. A year later the bubble of this post-war prosperity was pricked; prices came down with a run, and the number of unemployed became higher than ever before in our history, though only a fraction of what it is to-day. After 1819 the acute stage of the depression lasted about two years, when it was followed by a partial recovery which enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give such cheerful accounts of the national finances that he was nicknamed "Prosperity Robinson" (§ 272). But in 1825 came another slump in trade, accompanied by a financial crisis which shook the Government to its foundations. Much the same thing happened after 1921. The recovery was very gradual, but by 1927 people breathed a sigh of relief that "at last the war was really over." Then, like a bolt from the blue, came the economic catastrophe of 1931, which caused the fall of the Labour Government (§ 344).

But the political history of the two epochs was very different. The Coalition Government of 1916-22 did not attempt to suppress popular discontents with "gagging acts" and military force, for successive "Reform Acts" had given the vote to the working-class, and had made them masters of the situation. And whereas in 1815 *Laissez Faire* was in full swing, by 1918 it had long been discredited. Indeed, the war itself had hastened its decline, for the Government had been forced to take control of all sorts of activities—mines, railways, banks, housing, shipping—in the national interest. And although the Coalition Government after the war "decontrolled" as many of these activities as possible, there were some in which the advantages of centralisation were too great to be abandoned.

And, in general, the tendency towards "State Socialism"

has been more marked than ever since the war. It is now generally accepted that the Government must provide a living for all the population. If work can be found for those that want it, well and good ; but if not, they must be maintained in idleness. Children are educated, provided with medical and dental treatment, milk and (in some cases) meals, because it is felt to be in the best interests of the community that the next generation shall be " fit " in mind and body.

Of course, all this costs a great deal of money, and involves taxation on a scale unknown in any other country. But such is the economic strength of the nation that it seems hardly to feel the immense burden of the " social services," of supporting nearly two million unemployed, and of an expenditure on armaments so vast as to reach the limits of what the human mind can conceive. This solid rock of wealth, which is the envy of the world, is the more remarkable because a great change has come over the economic position of the country in recent times. Once Britain had almost a world-monopoly in the " heavy industries " and in shipping ; but that has gone for ever, and with it has gone the Free Trade on which her prosperity in the last century was based.

Another feature of the age is the ever-increasing scale on which industry and trade are carried on. The day of the small manufacturer and the small shopkeeper seems almost done, except in special circumstances where " the personal touch " still counts. Manufacturers have increased the scope of their operations in two ways. Firms have joined in " trusts " or " combines " to eliminate competition and to maintain prices by limiting their output to the public demand. In the long run this may be advantageous to all concerned. In a way it is a return to the medieval ideal of a " fair price " fixed by cost of production rather than by competition. If a trust tried to raise prices above this level, some firm would be sure to break away and undersell it. And workers are better off with a system of steady production than when employed by firms engaged in undercutting each other.

The other development in the organisation of capital is what is sometimes called "vertical" combination, by which a firm undertakes all the processes of manufacture. Thus a great firm of ironfounders will mine its ore, smelt the ore with coal produced in its own coal-mines, quarry the limestone required to make it into steel, make all the machinery in its own engineering-shops, and even run its own ships.

As for the retail business of shopkeeping, this is falling more and more into the hands of "chain stores" which have the immense advantage of purchasing or manufacturing on a large scale. This system has been applied even to such personal articles as boots and clothes.

§ 358. SOCIAL CHANGES.—Of all the recent changes in the daily life of the nation, we can here mention only two.

Firstly, the development of the internal-combustion engine—first brought into a practicable form about 1895—has taken people back to travel by road, and has made every part of the country accessible to every other part. And this applies not only to passengers but to goods. The motor-lorry carries mass-produced commodities into remote hamlets untouched by the railway; and wherever it penetrates it sweeps away the last remains of the old self-contained village life. The motor omnibus enables townsfolk to get cheaply and quickly into the country, and country folk to get into the town, and so obliterates the old distinctions between them. Village folk who used to do their shopping at little local shops now make weekly jaunts to the nearest large town.

Incidentally, internal combustion has also revolutionised the strategic position of the country. For it has made possible the submarine and the aeroplane, which between them had deprived Britain of her old advantages as an island. Moreover, the increasing use of oil fuel has not only injured the Welsh coal-fields, which supply the best "soft" steam-coal, but has made the country dependent on overseas supplies.

There has been a remarkable and continuous rise in the

standard of living since the war. The working-class demand better and more varied food, much of which comes from overseas in tins. They dress better, and live in larger houses. Above all, they have infinitely more pleasure than their grandfathers dreamed of. Even fifty years ago people in quite comfortable circumstances thought themselves lucky if they went to a theatre or a concert half a dozen times a year ; but to-day on the average every man, woman, and child in the country goes to the cinema once a week, while millions go more or less regularly to music-halls, football and cricket matches, dog-racing, and so on ; not to mention the various forms of entertainment brought into nearly every home in the land by the radio. Those two modern developments, the wireless and the cinema, had had enormous influence in spreading ideas, and have brought more abundant life to countless millions. The standards of music and the drama which they foster may not be as high as they might be, and doubtless will become ; but they are infinitely better than the void which they have filled.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the Examination Questions :

B	Bristol University School Certificate.
D	Durham University School Certificate.
CL	Cambridge University Local Examinations.
CWB	Central Welsh Board.
LGS	London University General School Examination.
LM	London Matriculation.
NUJB	Northern Universities Joint Board Examinations.
OC	Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board.
OL	Oxford University Local Examinations.
UW	University of Wales Matriculation Examination.

PERIOD III

RESTORATION AND REACTION

(1815-1848)

Nineteenth-century history begins with the fall of Napoleon. For a quarter of a century Europe had been in a turmoil of war and revolution, with frontiers shifting from year to year ; and during more than half that time it had been swayed by the will of one man. But the old monarchies now reasserted their " Divine Right," and concerted measures to repress revolutionary movements wherever and in whatever forms they might appear. In fact, they tried to put the clock back to 1789, so far as seemed safe and convenient. But they found that the Revolution and its Napoleonic sequel had destroyed the Old Régime beyond recall. Popular impulses towards national unity and constitutional government continued to ferment beneath the surface and to splutter from time to time, until in 1848 there was a terrific explosion.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BIRTH OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

1815-1818

§ 84. THE DYNASTS.—The four Great Powers which had combined to overthrow Napoleon regarded the conflict as a " War to end War." As soon as they had sent the ex-Emperor to Elba they set to work to make the world safe—not, like the Entente Powers in 1919, for Democracy, but for Legitimacy.

It was clear to them that to bring about this millennium they must continue to hold together ; and the measures which they concerted were four in number (N₃₉). They resettled the frontiers of Europe at the CONGRESS OF VIENNA (N₄₀), the later stages of the process being interrupted by "The Hundred Days." They then reassembled at Paris to revise the terms to be imposed on France to prevent any revival of "Bonapartism" ; and by this SECOND TREATY OF PARIS France had to pay an indemnity of forty millions sterling and to support an Army of Occupation until the money was forthcoming. On the same day they also signed a QUADRUPE ALLIANCE by which they agreed to act together "if France should again be threatened by revolution or usurpation," and to meet from time to time "to concert measures for the repose and prosperity of Europe." While these matters were under discussion, Czar Alexander induced the others to join him in a HOLY ALLIANCE by which they undertook to treat their subjects and each other in accordance with the precepts of Christianity.

The chief architect of the settlement was METTERNICH, the Chancellor of the Austrian Empire. That Empire was such a welter of intermingled races that the only force which could hold it together was "legitimacy"—the inherited rights of the Hapsburg monarchy. The "Rights of Man" to liberty, equality and nationhood would disintegrate it in a night. Hence it was but natural that he should take Divine Right and absolutism as guiding principles. It became his main pre-occupation to repress every symptom of the "Revolution" in the Austrian dominions, and to encourage the other Powers to do the same.

For the first few years after Waterloo this policy was somewhat obstructed by the Czar. In ALEXANDER I the autocratic traditions of Imperial Russia had been mitigated by his education under a Swiss tutor, who had given him some understanding of the principles underlying the Revolution. Just at the time of the settlement he was swayed by a sort of mystic piety which inspired him to put forward the Holy Alliance, and by senti-

mental "liberalism" which made him grant constitutional government to Poland and insist on Louis XVIII doing so in France. Metternich laughed up his sleeve at the Czar's visionary Alliance, but he determined to use it to unite the Powers in a permanent anti-revolutionary *bloc*.

§ 85. THE RESTORATION IN FRANCE.—Some of the potentates restored in 1815 went to fantastic lengths in their efforts to wipe out all trace of the revolutionary epoch. The Pope, for instance, abolished street-lamps in Rome; the King of Sardinia forbade his Piedmontese subjects to use the new road over the Alps; Ferdinand of Spain restored the Holy Inquisition; and the Elector of Hesse put his tiny army back into powdered pigtails.

What was merely ludicrous in these small and backward states would have been impossible in France, the home of the Revolution and of the most enlightened people in Europe; and the Powers were aware that any attempt to re-establish the Old Régime in its entirety would lead to another revolution. Equality before the Law, the Land for the People, Religious and Personal Freedom had all become part of the settled order of things. And Louis XVIII—old, fat and gouty—was like our own Charles II, "determined not to go on his travels again." He was quite prepared to make practical concessions to the modern spirit so long as his theoretical Divine Right was not denied. He retained most of the characteristic creations of Napoleon—the Codes, the Bureaucracy, the Concordat, the secular University, the Legion of Honour—even the new nobility.

Louis also agreed with the Allies that a CHARTER setting up the forms of constitutional government would be a valuable safeguard against further revolution. All that he insisted on was that it should take the form of a grant made by his own sovereign will, that he should be styled "King by the Grace of God," and that 1814 should be called the eighteenth year of his reign. Apart from these concessions to Divine Right, the Charter made considerable inroads on the omnipotence claimed

by the Old Monarchy. There was to be an elected legislature (N44), the sales of national property under the Revolution were confirmed, "the career open to the talents" was guaranteed, and so was liberty of worship and of the Press.

The Hundred Days made the position of the restored King much more difficult than before. In 1814 the Allies had pretended that the French nation was eager to welcome the Bourbons; but in 1815 this was no longer possible. Hence the humiliating precautions imposed in the Second Treaty of Paris (N39 c)—humiliations which made it "patriotic" for Frenchmen to despise the Monarchy which had been forced to accept them.

Another of Louis' difficulties was the ferocious temper of the old aristocracy. They had come flocking back in 1814 after years of exile, eager to enjoy once more their old privileges and immunities; and the return of Napoleon had thrown them into an agony of apprehension lest the cup should be dashed from their parched lips. When Waterloo reassured them, their hatred for Bonapartism and the Revolution burst forth more fiercely than ever. Henceforward there was a sharp cleavage between those who had supported the brief revival of the Empire and those who had opposed it—between the party of the *drapeau tricolore* and the party of the *drapeau blanc*. The leader of this "Ultra-Royalist" party was the King's brother, the COMTE D'ARTOIS, who regarded any concession to democracy as a bargain with the Devil. He and his friends demanded that the Charter should be withdrawn, that the property confiscated under the Revolution should be restored, and that Bonapartists should be prosecuted. They procured the dismissal of Talleyrand and Fouché, despite the fact that these two former ministers of Napoleon had done more than anybody else to make the Restoration possible. Thousands of Bonapartists were massacred in a "White Terror" in the south of France, and thousands more were sentenced to death or transportation during the next few years, the most famous of their victims being Marshal Ney.

§ 86. THE "CONSTITUTIONALS" IN POWER.—The first Prime Minister under the restored French monarchy was the Duc de RICHELIEU. Though an aristocrat who had lost everything in the Revolution and had been many years in exile, he was too high-minded to bear ill-will towards his fellow-countrymen. He had taken service under the Czar, and as Governor of Odessa had won the reputation of an able administrator. Having come to Paris with Alexander in 1815, he had offered his services to Louis XVIII in the hope that his influence with the Czar might soften the terms imposed on France. He tried to rule in the spirit of the Charter, to restore confidence, and to make the Government financially solvent.

He had great difficulties with the first Parliament of the new régime, which included an overwhelming majority of "Ultras." The King called it "*une chambre introuvable*"; but he soon found that a parliament might be too royalist. For Louis understood, far better than the ignorant and prejudiced *gentillâtres* who crowded the benches of the Right, that a violent reaction would run the dynasty into danger. He and his ministers did all they could to restrain the frenzy of persecution on which the Chamber insisted; and the result was a strange conflict in which the upholders of Divine Right were driven to maintain the power of Parliament to overrule the authority of the King!

Louis was always in awe of the Powers, and when the Chamber went so far as to throw out the Budget which provided for the payment of the indemnity, he plucked up courage to dissolve it (December 1816). The General Election showed that the nation had now recovered from the panic of the year before. A strong majority of "constitutionals" was returned, and for the next four years France had a Government of healing and reconciliation. "To royalise France and nationalise the monarchy" was its watchword.

In 1818 Richelieu pressed the Allies to hasten the withdrawal of their troops, on the grounds that as long as an Army of Occupation was on French soil it would be impossible to

reconcile the nation to the restored monarchy. After some hesitation the Allies decided to hold a conference, as provided for in the terms of the Quadruple Alliance (N39 d), to discuss this matter and also certain other problems that had arisen.

§ 87. LIBERALISM IN GERMANY.—The War of Liberation had filled Germans with hopes for national unity under parliamentary government, and their princes had promised to take steps in this direction as soon as Napoleon had been crushed. Metternich set himself to counteract this threat to his "absolutist" aims. The Congress of Vienna had set up a new federal constitution for Germany (N41), and when the Diet of this new Confederation met, he instructed the Austrian delegates to hinder all activity. Thus, instead of being the organ of German unity it degenerated into a mere debating society, so dilatory its methods that (to take a typical example) it spent twenty years deciding in which of two places to build a fortress with the money from the French indemnities—and in the end did not build it at all.

The German liberals, thus balked of national unity, turned the more eagerly to the development of constitutional rule in the separate states. The Grand Duke of Weimar, the patron of Goethe and Schiller, set up a parliament in 1816, and the rulers of Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden followed his example. But much depended on Prussia, by far the most powerful of the states. When Napoleon escaped from Elba, Frederick William III had hastily issued an ordinance promising a representative system, but after Waterloo had removed the danger he gradually fell back under the influence of ministers who opposed all such concessions to "Jacobinism." The Liberals—mostly professors and students and journalists—kept up an enthusiastic agitation for their ideals, however; and the young men formed a *Burschenschaft*, and other students' associations, in which nationalist ideals were associated with comradeship and the cult of physical fitness. On the tercentenary of Luther's Burning of the Bull they held a festival

at the Wartburg, an old castle in Weimar (October 1817). The celebrations included a great bonfire in the courtyard, and some students, whose high spirits outran their discretion, threw into the flames the Prussian Police Code, a Uhlan's stays, and a corporal's cane—the last two articles being symbolical of the Prussian militarism which was so hated in southern Germany. The incident was a mere "rag," but Metternich pretended to see in it portentous signs of revolution. He worked on the fears of his master and the King of Prussia to ask the Czar to concert action against the menace. Alexander replied that it was a matter to be dealt with at the conference which was to discuss the evacuation of France.

§ 88. THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—It met in October 1818. Metternich looked forward to a personal contact with the Russian and Prussian sovereigns to win their support for his policy of general repression. In this he was very successful. Both Frederick William and Alexander were already repenting of their earlier concessions to "constitutional government," and the latter had just been startled by the discovery of a revolutionary plot in his army. His emotional nature was always liable to fly off at a tangent; by the time he arrived at Aix he had ceased to regard himself as the champion of liberty and enlightenment, and had begun to feel that the first duty of all sovereigns was to uphold order and authority against the madness of democracy. He therefore joined Metternich in persuading Frederick William that he could redeem his promise of constitutional government by granting local Diets to the separate provinces of his dominions.

The evacuation of France was soon settled: all parties were agreed that the sooner it was done the better, and the unpaid portion of the indemnity was turned into a loan. Richelieu, representing Louis XVIII, was now formally admitted to the Congress, and the five Powers joined in a Declaration confirming the general aims of the Holy Alliance. But when it was proposed to inaugurate a permanent system for regulating the

affairs of Europe by periodical congresses, the British representative demurred. The Tory Government of Great Britain was as opposed to "Jacobinism" as Metternich himself; but Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, knew that Parliament would never allow the Government to play an active and continuous part in European politics for that or any other general line of policy. So that project fell through.

Nevertheless Metternich had taken a big step towards turning the Holy Alliance—intended by its creator as a philanthropic society—into an organisation for mutual assistance in repressing "liberalism" anywhere and everywhere. It was not without reason that he congratulated himself when departing from Aix on "a very pretty little Congress."

CHAPTER XX

THE HEY-DAY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

1818-1822

§ 89. REACTION IN FRANCE.—The annual elections to a fifth of the seats in the French Chamber resulted in the return of more and more "radicals." Richelieu wanted to change the electoral system so as to check the process, but the old King, influenced by a liberal-minded favourite named Decazes, refused to sanction this; whereupon Richelieu resigned and a ministry was formed in which Decazes himself was the dominating personality. Thus the "swing to the left" continued unchecked, until it culminated in the election of the Abbé Grégoire, a notorious ex-Jacobin. The Ultras made fierce attacks on a Government which was "unchaining the spirit of Bonapartism and Revolution," and d'Artois was perpetually nagging at his brother for betraying the sacred cause of absolutism. The Powers of the Alliance were considering the

advisability of intervening to insist on a more conservative policy, when a tragic event made this course unnecessary. The Duc de Berri, the son of d'Artois and heir-presumptive to the throne, was murdered in the Paris Opera House. Louis XVIII had no children, and in Berri (who had recently married) lay the Ultras' only hope of excluding from the throne the Orleans branch of the royal family, which they detested for its "liberal" sympathies. They unjustly assumed that the crime was the outcome of a widespread conspiracy, and worked up a frenzied agitation against Decazes, on the grounds that it was his liberal régime that had made the crime possible. D'Artois insisted upon his dismissal as the only consolation the King could give him for his son's death. Louis was now far gone in senile decay; he no longer had the power of will to resist his brother's importunity. For a time Richelieu returned to office, but in 1822 d'Artois contrived to replace him by a personal supporter of his own, named Villèle. For the next eight years France was dominated by the principles of the Old Régime and the Catholic Church.

§ 90. REACTION IN GERMANY.—At about the same time a similar crime produced a similar result in Germany. There, as elsewhere, it was the educated classes, especially professors and students at the universities, who cherished "liberal" ideals. Metternich was determined that the rising generation should not be inoculated with the disturbing doctrines; and his task was lightened by the follies of the liberals themselves. The rulers of the south German states soon repented of their precipitancy in granting constitutions, for the parliaments went to democratic extremes in abolishing titles and cutting down royal incomes. As for Frederick William of Prussia, he never recovered from the shock of the Wartburg bonfire (§ 87), and he continued to postpone the constitutional reforms he had promised in 1815. Then in March 1819 came the assassination of Kotzebue, a German writer who was regarded as the author of the Czar's defection from "liberalism." The assassin was

a young member of the *Burschenschaft* named Sand, who felt that he was avenging the betrayal of German nationalism.

The crime played right into Metternich's hand. Frederick William and the other rulers of Germany were frightened into supporting his proposal for a concerted effort to root out all "liberal" tendencies in central Europe. At a conference held at Carlsbad, in Bohemia, their first care was to limit the scope of the famous Article XIII of the Federal Constitution (N₄₁), by declaring that no state might adopt institutions "inconsistent with monarchical principles." They then went on to formulate the CARLSBAD DECREES (September 1819). The *Burschenschaft* and Gymnastic Unions were dissolved. Each state was to nominate a curator for its university to watch the conduct of its members and report any subversive tendencies. A severe censorship of the Press was instituted. Finally, a commission was set up at Mainz to enquire into the ramifications of the great revolutionary plot which (it was alleged) was on foot all over Germany.

Metternich had now got German liberalism safely gagged and fettered. For the next thirty years he assumed that the Carlsbad Decrees gave the Austrian police a special responsibility for repression and espionage throughout central Europe. All freedom of thought and expression disappeared, and the educated classes could only watch wistfully the progress of liberty in other countries, notably in France and England. The Chancellor's attitude is well expressed in his paean of triumph on leaving Carlsbad: "I have defeated the German Revolution just as I vanquished the Conqueror of the World. The revolutionaries thought me far away: they were deceived. I was in the midst of them, and now I am dealing my blows."

§ 91. PENINSULAR REVOLTS.—He had not as yet been able to apply his policy to southern Europe, however, and in the course of the following year revolutionary disturbances broke out in Spain, in Portugal and in Naples.

Ferdinand VII, the restored King of Spain, carried freakish tyranny to the borders of insanity. He placed in high office an ex-water-carrier and an ex-commissionaire, and imprisoned without trial men of the highest character on a mere suspicion of liberal opinions; he involved the finances in such confusion that trade was stifled and the pay of the army was years in arrear; he gave the Church absolute control over education, and re-established the Inquisition. Early in 1820 a widespread revolt, beginning with a mutiny in the army, compelled him to give way to the demand that the Cortes should be summoned, and that the democratic "Constitution of 1812"¹ should be restored.

By this time the Czar's conversion to the gospel of repression was so complete that he sent a circular letter to the Powers pointing out the importance of suppressing the movement, and offering to send 20,000 of his own troops for the purpose. But this proposal met with a chilling reception. All the other Governments were jealous of the growing power of Russia, and Metternich was more alarmed at the prospect of a Russian army marching through Austria than at the rising in Spain. He therefore replied in a wordy despatch which argued that there was no occasion for the Powers to intervene, inasmuch as "Spain was suffering from *material* sickness, and the Holy Alliance was concerned only with *moral* ills." The response of Britain was equally discouraging, for Castlereagh reiterated his policy of non-intervention even more definitely than at Aix. England, he said, had undertaken in the treaties of 1815 merely to prevent the return of Bonaparte to France and to maintain the territorial arrangements made at Vienna. Parliament and people would never suffer the Government to go beyond those undertakings. Moreover, the British dynasty itself owed its authority to a revolution, and could not deny to other countries the right to change their government. So the revolt in Spain was left to work itself out.

¹ A very democratic constitution which Spanish liberals had proclaimed during the Peninsular War.

Then the Portuguese followed suit. King John IV, who had fled to Brazil from the wrath of Napoleon in 1807 (§ 61), found conditions there so much to his taste that he refused to return in 1815, and appointed Marshal Beresford (who had commanded the Portuguese in the Peninsular War) as Regent. The Portuguese naturally resented their country being treated as a mere dependency. Inspired by the events in Spain, military revolts broke out, the "Constitution of 1812" was set up, and John was summoned back to rule under it. He decided to obey, leaving his son Pedro as regent in Brazil.

Metternich's reasons for neglecting the Spanish revolt applied even more strongly to Portugal; but his equanimity was now upset by an outbreak much nearer home. Ferdinand I of Naples was a good-humoured, stupid, loutish person. He had been unable completely to destroy the efficient administrative system set up by Murat (N34), but everything was thrown into confusion by corruption and favouritism, the land-settlement was upset in favour of the Church, and trade was crippled by irrational customs-regulations. Hostility to the Government, here as in other parts of Italy, took the form of secret societies. The most famous of these was the "CARBONARI,"¹ the members of which mingled vague aspirations for the regeneration of mankind with plans for the overthrow of despotic governments. The movement spread until there were lodges in almost every town and village, among the members being people of all classes, especially professional men and officers in the army. As in Spain and Portugal, the revolt began with a military mutiny in favour of the "Constitution of 1812." So rapidly did it spread that Ferdinand was intimidated into immediate surrender. In July 1820 he swore fidelity to the Constitution with a prodigal superfluity of oaths, calling upon God to smite him with the most fearful judgment if he ever broke his pledge.

¹ This name, which signifies "charcoal burners," was probably suggested by the fact that in the early days of the movement meetings were held in secluded forest-glades.

§ 92. REACTION IN ITALY.—A revolution in Naples was far more dangerous to Austria than one in Spain or Portugal, for the spirit of revolt would inevitably spread into the Papal Domains and thence into the Austrian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Metternich had found high-sounding excuses for non-intervention in the one case, and he soon found equally exalted reasons for intervention in the other. He proposed another Congress, to be held at TROPPEAU, in Silesia (October 1820). France was still paralysed by party struggles, and Britain was as determined as ever to keep out of such affairs (§ 88); so these two Powers took no official part in the proceedings. Metternich had little difficulty in persuading Alexander and Frederick William to join in a Protocol setting forth the principle that it was the duty of the Powers to act together in suppressing revolutionary movements wherever they might occur. They went on to invite Ferdinand to come and concert with them the means for carrying out the principle in Naples. The Neapolitans at first refused to let their king leave the country, but upon his tearfully emphatic renewal of his oath to the Constitution they at length relented. No sooner was he safely across the frontier than he sent a letter to each of the Powers explaining that he had no intention of keeping his oath. At LAIBACH (January 1821) it was decided that an Austrian force should be sent to crush the movement, and a few months later King Ferdinand was engaged in the congenial task of taking vengeance on his "liberal" subjects.

At one moment it seemed as if the Austrian army in Naples might be cut off by a rising in Piedmont. Opposition to the Hapsburgs was a tradition in the House of Savoy, and King Victor Emmanuel I was annoyed to see the Austrians making themselves the dominant Power in Italy. He therefore allowed himself to be put forward by his nobles as constitutional King of all Italy; but he quickly repented of his rashness, and abdicated from his own throne, leaving his supporters in the lurch. His successor was his brother Charles Albert, an uncompromising absolutist who called in the Austrian army,

and joined them in defeating the rebels at Novara (April 1821). Piedmont's first bid for the leadership of a united Italy thus came to an untimely end. And there, as in Naples, fearful reprisals followed in which dozens of high-minded men were executed, hundreds thrown into foul dungeons for years, and thousands driven into exile.

"Voilà ce que c'est qu'une révolution prise à temps," chuckled Metternich. He had defied Castlereagh's disapproval, and the Troppau Protocol (which in effect applied the Carlsbad Decrees to all Europe) had been accepted by Austria, Russia and Prussia as the mainspring of their foreign policy.

§ 93. REACTION IN SPAIN.—Now it was Spain's turn. For two years King Ferdinand had chafed under the restrictions of the Constitution. But, like the other continental peoples, the Spanish "liberals" found that the working of parliamentary institutions needs a long apprenticeship. The peasantry were dominated by the clergy, who in Spain, as in France and Italy, were on the side of "legitimacy." In the Cortes the reactionary ("Apostolical") party egged on the extreme radicals ("exaltados") to overthrow the moderate liberal government, and the result was a turmoil which compelled the Holy Allies to intervene. So another Congress was held at VERONA (October 1822). Just before that date Canning had succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary, but this made no difference to the general line of British policy. Wellington, who represented Britain at the Congress, was instructed to protest emphatically against any joint intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Nevertheless, the Powers decided that France should be authorised to send an army to Spain on behalf of absolutism. In April 1823, 100,000 men under a royal duke crossed the Pyrenees. The peasantry welcomed it with cries of "Down with the Constitution!" and the Liberal Government was soon driven to bay at Cadiz, whither they carried off the King. For a time they kept up the pretence that they were defending him against his enemies; but at last they had to let

him go after extorting from him a promise to let by-gones be by-gones. The sequel may be guessed before it is told. It was said of Ferdinand that he had the head of a mule and the heart of a tiger. The moment he got within the French lines he began ferocious reprisals against all who had in any way supported the late Government. Some notion of his character may be gained from the fact that he had the body of General Diego, the leader of the revolt, quartered, one portion being exposed to public view in each of the four principal towns of Spain. The French were disgusted at the outcome of their intervention, and aided the escape of proscribed people whenever they could, but Ferdinand was deaf to all the expostulations of his deliverers.

Thus the spirit of Metternich was triumphant in Spain as in France, Germany and Italy.

CHAPTER XXI

THE COLLAPSE OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

1823-1827

§ 94. CASTLEREAGH AND CANNING.—Metternich had contrived to turn the Czar's philanthropic Holy Alliance into an organisation for the suppression of "liberalism," but there had always been a weak spot in it, and that flaw now brought the whole structure to ruin. At the Congress of Aix (1818) British opposition had been merely negative; at Troppau (1820) and Laibach (1821) it had led to withdrawal; and at Verona (1822) it culminated in an emphatic protest. As we have seen (§ 93), Canning had succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Minister on the eve of the Congress of Verona; but this had merely made more definite a line of policy already laid down.

Nevertheless, a change came over the tone of the despatches from the British Foreign Office after Canning's accession. For

Castlereagh's personal sympathies were with the reactionary rulers—he had collaborated with them in the coalition which overthrew Napoleon and in the peace-settlement; whereas Canning cared nothing for them, for he had none of Castlereagh's aristocratic prejudices, and had been out of office during those critical years. Thus he was a whole-hearted "isolationist." "So things are getting back into a wholesome state again," he wrote to a friend at this time, "every nation for itself and God for us all." More than once we shall see him going so far as to give active support to rebels in direct opposition to the aims of the reactionary Powers. Yet even so, we must bear in mind that the revolutionary movements in Castlereagh's time were in countries—Italy and Spain—with which Britain had no direct concern; whereas those which now arose—in South America and Portugal—British commercial interests would have been jeopardised if the insurgents had been crushed.

§ 95. LATIN AMERICA.—At the time of the Verona Congress, Canning had sent a private memorandum to the French Government, warning it that Britain's formal protest against the intervention in Spain would give way to forcible action if France went on to subjugate Spain's South American colonies¹ as well. There were two main reasons for this distinction. Firstly, whereas British trade with Spain had never amounted to much, a highly profitable commerce had sprung up with the Spanish colonies since they had shaken off the paralysing grip of their mother-country. Secondly, whereas the British Army was too weak to oppose the French in Spain, the Navy could easily prevent them from transporting their forces to South America. Chateaubriand, the Foreign Minister in the "Ultra" Government (§ 89), urged that it was both wicked and foolish to allow the colonies to become republics; and King Ferdinand

¹ These colonies had refused to submit to Joseph Bonaparte when Napoleon had made him King of Spain (§ 62); and they had enjoyed their freedom (especially in the matter of overseas commerce) so much that when Ferdinand VII was restored in 1814 they would not return to their allegiance.

appealed for another Congress to deal with the matter. But Canning was not to be moved. Furthermore, he gave the United States ambassador assurances that Britain would never countenance the subjugation of the young republics.

These assurances had an important outcome. From the first the United States had resolved to keep out of "European entanglements." The Czar had tried to break down this aloofness, inviting them to take part in the Congress of Aix, upbraiding them for recognising the independence of the South American Republics (1822), and latterly adopting quite a threatening tone. Canning's declaration now encouraged President Monroe to make an emphatic statement of policy, to the effect that the United States would regard as an enemy any European Power which tried to intervene anywhere on the American continents (N46).

Canning could not help feeling a little sore that Monroe had stolen a march on him by being the first to adopt this attitude of defiance, especially as the United States could not have made the challenge effective without the support of the British Navy. He therefore published his earlier memorandum to France, in order to prove that he had taken the initiative in the matter ; and in January 1825 he announced that the British Government formally recognised the independence of Colombia, Chile and Argentina. In defending this action in Parliament, Canning used a characteristically magniloquent phrase about " calling a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old "—ignoring the inconvenient fact that the United States had anticipated his action by two years and more.

Canning made another exception to his non-intervention policy in the case of Portugal ; for he sent some ships and regiments to Lisbon to prevent France from restoring an absolutist government which would have brought to an end the traditional Anglo-Portuguese trade agreements.

§ 96. THE EASTERN QUESTION.—The Concert of Europe had been fatally weakened by the defection of Britain ; it was finally

broken up by disagreement among the reactionary Powers themselves.

The apple of discord was one which was destined to cause wars and rumours of wars for a century—the Eastern Question. The Ottoman Turks had conquered the Balkan Peninsula in the fifteenth century, and had misruled it ever since. The Balkan peoples were mostly of Slavonic race and belonged to the Orthodox Christian Church. The chief Slav and Orthodox Power was Russia, and the Czars naturally sympathised with them in their resistance to Turkish oppression. It might have been expected that the other European Powers would have welcomed action on behalf of fellow-Christians in revolt against Mohammedan misrule; but this feeling was checked by their dread of the growing power of Russia. If the Czars succeeded in ousting Turkey from Europe, would not this lead to their dominating the Balkan Peninsula themselves? And would not possession of Constantinople make them heirs to the Eastern Roman Empire of which that city had once been the capital?

The form in which the problem arose at this juncture was a revolt of the Greeks. The people called by this name were of three types. The inhabitants of the mainland, the Morea, were half-civilised peasants much given to banditry; the people of the isles of the archipelago were mostly occupied in sea-trading or piracy according to individual taste or the season of the year; and the "Greeks of the Dispersion" were mainly prosperous merchants living in Constantinople, Odessa, Marseilles, Paris and London. The Sultan ruled his Greek subjects through their priests, at the head of whom was the Patriarch of Constantinople. Slavonian and Albanian elements were predominant in their very mixed descent; but geographically and linguistically they preserved the memory of "the Glory that was Greece." The nationalist impulse inspired by the French Revolution encouraged the educated Greeks, especially among the exiles, to dream of one day reviving the Byzantine Empire, with Constantinople as its centre. A society was formed, known as the *Hetairia Philike* ("Band of Friends"), with

branches in various cities, to conduct propaganda for these ideals. Czar Alexander sympathised with the movement, and gave careers to many Greeks in his service—notably CAPODISTRIAS, who was for some years his chief minister, and HYPASILANTI, who became his *aide-de-camp*.

Thus, when in 1820 they planned a great rising against the Sultan they relied on the Czar's support, and chose the Duchies at the mouth of the Danube (Moldavia and Wallachia) as their scene of action so as to be within reach of his armies. Apart from this consideration, the Duchies were a singularly unfavourable place for the purpose, inasmuch as the bulk of the population were Rumanian peasants who detested the Greek ruling class placed in authority by the Sultan. Hypsilanti, having got leave of absence from the Czar, raised the standard of revolt, and appealed to his master for help. But the movement never had the least chance of success. The Rumanes failed to see what they had to gain by it, and refused to rise ; while the Czar, who happened to be attending the Congress of Laibach (§ 92) at the time, repudiated the whole thing, and ordered Hypsilanti to abandon his enterprise. Consequently the Sultan had little difficulty in crushing the rebels, and Hypsilanti fled to Austria, where he was captured and imprisoned.

A month or two later there was a far more formidable outbreak, this time in the Morea. It placed both Alexander and Metternich in an embarrassing position. The Czar hated the Turks—but hated rebellion even more. Metternich wanted to see the rebellion crushed—but did not want to see the Czar dominating south-eastern Europe. As usual, the ingenious Chancellor had no difficulty in finding a "principle" that would fit the interests of Austria in the matter. He declared that the Balkan peninsula was "outside the pale" of European affairs : it was beneath the dignity of the Powers to concern themselves with what was happening in such barbarous regions. For the time being the Czar was glad to avail himself of this expedient to postpone the necessity of taking a definite line.

§ 97. THE ALLIANCE DIES OF RUSSOPHOBIA.—Meanwhile the revolt was developing into a fearful orgy of bloodshed. The Greeks began with the massacre of 50,000 Moslems in the Morea, and the Turks took care not to be outdone in savagery. The Sultan had the Patriarch hanged, and his body thrown into the Bosphorus; and 30,000 inhabitants of Chios—among the most cultured of the Greeks—were sold into slavery.

As long as they could, the Powers averted their eyes from these horrors, for their conflicting interests made it difficult for them to intervene. The Czar himself was in a particularly painful dilemma. His people—then the most intensely religious nation in Europe—were stirred to their depths at the murder of the Patriarch, and clamoured for a crusade to avenge the sacrilege. Moreover, a wave of sympathy for the Greeks was welling up all over western Europe; for the exclusively classical education of those days filled the educated classes with sentimental admiration for people whom they fondly imagined to be the descendants of Pericles, Plato and Leonidas. The death of Byron at Missolonghi (April 1824) made the cause more sacred than ever in the eyes of the romantic youth of England, France and America. Money, goods and volunteers came pouring into Greece. This support, coupled with the fact that the Turkish navy had always been manned mainly by Greeks, enabled the insurgents to gain the upper hand during the first two or three years of the conflict. Canning was on tenterhooks. Though he shared the general sympathy for the Greeks, he felt that British interests required the maintenance of the Turkish Empire as a bulwark against Russian ambitions; and he was as anxious as Metternich that the conflict should end before the Czar should intervene in it to his own advantage.

Then in 1825 there came a crisis in the struggle. The Sultan, despairing of success with his own resources, called in the aid of Mehemet Ali, who ruled Egypt as his vassal. Mehemet's son, Ibrahim, came with a fleet and army and acted with a ferocity which suggested that he intended to exterminate the Morean Greeks altogether. Alexander I had just made up his mind that

he must at all costs save his co-religionists from extinction, when he died. He had long been weary of a life full of disappointments and perplexities ; and his last months had been darkened by the knowledge that the Confederation of Europe on which he set such store was fading away. He was succeeded by his brother Nicholas, a vigorous, self-confident realist, who placed the interests of Russia a long way before the vague principles of morality which cast such a spell over Alexander. He at once announced that he intended to check the Turks whether he had the support of the other Powers or not—with what results we shall see when we come to deal with the creation of the Kingdom of Greece.

Meanwhile his action had given the *coup de grâce* to the moribund Alliance. The Age of the Congresses was over.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY

1824-1830

§ 98. THE MAN WHO "HAD LEARNT NOTHING AND FORGOTTEN NOTHING."—The Ultra-Royalists who ruled France after 1821 (§ 89) restricted the franchise and perfected methods of controlling elections until they built up a huge majority in the Chamber. When old Louis XVIII died in 1824 it seemed as if they had securely entrenched themselves in power. D'Artois, who now became CHARLES X, personified the spirit of the *émigrés* who had sickened the Courts of Europe with their claims and pretensions during the Revolution (§ 15) and had intrigued against their country during the Consulate and Empire.

His wooden-headed bigotry led him into a course of action which brought the monarchy to ruin within six years. His brother had tempered his "legitimism" with shrewd common

sense, but Charles despised "compromise." He had indeed learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1789—and would have boasted of this as honourable staunchness to principles. He had himself crowned at Rheims with all the symbolic ceremony of the Middle Ages, seven distinct portions of his royal anatomy being anointed with sacred oil said to have been miraculously preserved from the time of Clovis. He revived the elaborate Court ceremonial of Louis XIV, never appeared save in ermine and plumes, and called his son the "Dauphin." These were trifling details, but they seemed absurdly out of date in the nineteenth century. To the ridicule he thus brought on himself he added exasperation by laws which made sacrilege a capital offence and awarded £40,000,000 as compensation to *ex-émigrés* for the loss of their estates in the Revolution. True, nobody was actually executed for sacrilege, and the compensation set at rest any lingering fear that the land-settlement might be upset; but the measures seemed to indicate a frame of mind impervious to modern ideas.

The commercial and professional classes had been strongly monarchist since 1815, despite the fact that they mostly owed their prosperity to the Revolution; but these pinpricks alienated them from the Bourbons more and more. Their disaffection was expressed in the newspapers, so the Ministry tried to check the spread of "liberalism" by requiring every copy to bear a stamp which cost a franc. And when in 1827 the King was reviewing the National Guard, these middle-class citizen-soldiers greeted him with such persistent cries of "Down with the Ministry!" that he disbanded them. Of course, such attempts to muzzle the Opposition merely embittered it.

The rising tide of discontent began to wash away the Government's majority in the Chamber, and in 1828 the King dissolved it in the hope of getting one more favourable to his aims. The result was a terrible shock, however, for despite the frenzied efforts of nobles and officials, the Opposition actually gained a majority in the elections. At first Charles tried to placate the new House by appointing as President of the Council a constitution-

alist named Martignac. But this compromise satisfied nobody ; the Left Wing wanted much more liberalism than Martignac would give them, while the Ultras (secretly encouraged by the King) wanted much less. So the Martignac Ministry was defeated in the Chamber, and the King dismissed it with the characteristic remark, " I always said there was nothing to be done with these liberals ! "

§ 99. THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY.—Charles now decided on a foolhardy step : to disregard the hostile Chamber altogether, and fall back on sheer despotism. " My eldest brother compromised with Revolution," he said, " and everybody knows what his fate was ! " So he now appointed as chief minister a personal crony named Jules de POLIGNAC, an Ultra of the Ultras, who had been condemned to death for conspiring against Napoleon in 1804, and had refused to take the oath to the Charter in 1814. He was a devout Catholic who shaped his course by visions of saints ; and this divine guidance was urgently required, for his own mental capacity was extremely limited. His colleagues were men of the same kidney, for his Minister of Justice had taken a prominent part in the massacres of the White Terror, and his Minister for War had deserted from the French army on the eve of Waterloo.

Such a Ministry was a challenge not only to every liberal-minded man in France, but to the Powers which had guaranteed the Charter as a safeguard against Revolution (§ 85). The most conservative of European statesmen—Metternich, Wellington and Nicholas I—were aghast at such folly. In France the Opposition swiftly gathered strength and determination. At the house of Talleyrand was formed a party (including a clever young journalist named THIERS) in favour of a constitutional monarchy under Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans. The son of " Philippe Égalité " (N12), he had fought in the republican army at Jemappes ; and since the restoration he had courted popularity by a democratic simplicity of manners by way of contrast to the pretentious sacrosanctity of the Court. And just

as in 1814 people had recalled General Monk's restoration of Charles II, so in the present crisis the talk was all of the English Revolution of 1688, and how William of Orange had revived constitutional government in England after it had been destroyed by James II. But clever discussions could never have made a revolution—vigorous action was necessary, and this was provided by the students and workmen of Paris led by half-pay officers who had served under Napoleon. The elements in the Opposition were very mixed, and the only passion which held them together was hatred of the Bourbons and of priestly power. Old Lafayette came out of his retirement and toured the provinces, making republican speeches which aroused great enthusiasm; but the bulk of the nation were not looking for another revolution—they did not even seek to get rid of Charles X; all that they wanted was the dismissal of the reactionary ministry, and government according to the spirit of the Charter.

But this was what they were not likely to get. Charles and Polignac looked upon constitutional government as something foul and shameful, and they were encouraged by a vision which appeared to Polignac, of the Virgin Mary calling upon him to save France from such degradation. The Opposition seemed to them perversely wrong-headed, and they were confident that they had all the best elements of the nation at their backs. So they determined to make another attempt to gain a favourable Parliament, and Polignac contrived that the elections should coincide with news of the conquest of Algiers (June 1830).¹ But the nation was too angry to be appeased by military success, and in the new Chamber the Opposition was stronger than ever.

What was the King to do now? The Charter did not lay down what was to happen when Ministry and Parliament were in a state of permanent disagreement, but it gave him power to issue "Ordinances" which would have the force of law

¹ France had long dreamed of an empire in northern Africa, and an insult to a French consul by the Dey of Algiers had given a pretext for sending an army and fleet thither.

whenever the State was in danger ; and he now took advantage of this clause to dissolve Parliament, to summon a new one under a revised franchise, and to silence the Opposition Press (July 1830).

§ 100. THE DAYS OF JULY.—The muzzling of the Press was a flagrant breach of the Charter, and the journals defied the Ordinance by a manifesto declaring that, since the King had ended the reign of Law, the reign of Force would now begin. During the following day the discharged printers went round the factories and workshops of Paris calling out their fellow-workers as a protest, and soon the streets were filled with angry and excited mobs. That night the republicans, under the leadership of an officer named CAVAIGNAC, planned an insurrection. The Government had not expected any serious trouble, and General Marmont, the commandant of the garrison, had received no orders beyond a jocular warning that some windows might be broken. Consequently the insurgents were able to get possession of the Hôtel de Ville without opposition, and the *tricolore* once more floated from its flagstaff. Marmont sent two columns of troops to oust them, but the task proved unexpectedly difficult. The winding, narrow streets could easily be barricaded ; and the insurgents were as well armed as the soldiers, for the National Guards had been allowed to keep their weapons when they were disbanded. After some hours of heavy fighting, the troops—weighed down by cumbrous equipment, unfed for twenty-four hours, tortured by thirst, and subject to a harassing bombardment of missiles from the upper stories of the houses—were driven back with heavy losses. The King was some ten miles off at St. Cloud, where sounds of the combat could be heard on the terrace ; but he refused to take matters seriously, especially as “ Jules ” had another vision bidding him stand firm.

On the morrow the insurgents took the offensive and captured the Tuileries, whence the guards fled in panic, fearing another “ Tenth of August.” Some of the deputies of the prorogued

Parliament met, now that the insurrection was certain of success, and set up a Provisional Government. But the Orleanist group were plotting to turn the stream of revolution in their own favour. On 30th July they placarded the streets with a manifesto drawn up by Thiers. Charles X could never show his face in Paris again, it said, for he had shed the blood of the people. A republic would divide the nation in a terrible conflict and would embroil France with the Powers. "The Duke of Orleans is a prince devoted to the cause of the Revolution. He was at Jemappes. He would be a citizen-king. He has carried the *tricolore* under fire, he alone can still carry it. He will respect our rights, for it will be from us that he holds his own." Orleans had hitherto kept tactfully in the background, but Thiers now sent for him to appear before the Provisional Government, which nominated him "Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom"—whatever that might mean. King Charles now hurriedly withdrew his Ordinances; but it was too late: the deputies refused even to receive his messenger.

It seemed unlikely that the republican mob which had mastered the royal forces would accept any form of monarchical government; but Thiers won over Lafayette to the view that a constitutional monarchy was the only practical solution of the situation. Showing admirable nerve in the crisis, Orleans made his way through the hostile crowd outside the Hôtel de Ville, and appeared on the balcony along with Lafayette, bearing a tricolor flag. Lafayette made a speech recommending that the welfare of France should be entrusted to him, and ended by embracing him amid the cheers of all beholders. Thus was the fate of France settled by a sentimental *coup de théâtre*.

King Charles was at last convinced that the game was up so far as he personally was concerned, but he hoped to save the cause of legitimacy by abdicating in favour of his grandson. He wrote to Orleans, confirming him as "Lieutenant-General of the Realm" until "Henri V" should be of age. Orleans replied in a private letter filled with protestations of loyalty, but he said nothing about it to his supporters; and when the

Chambers invited him to become a constitutional "King of the French" he accepted without demur or delay.

The Royal Family withdrew to Cherbourg and took ship for England, where they were received as private persons and lodged in Holyrood Palace. A year or two later they removed to Austria, where the ex-King died in 1836.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE AFTERMATH OF THE JULY REVOLUTION

1830-1833

§ 101. AN ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE.—The Revolution of July was a revolution checked half-way. The men who forced Charles X to abdicate had intended to set up a republic; but at the critical moment a *bourgeois* party had got control of the situation and contrived to substitute a constitutional monarchy (N47). The republican leaders had been induced to accept this compromise by the argument that the Powers would suppress by force a republic. At first it seemed doubtful if the Powers would not interfere to prevent even the change of dynasty, for their guarantee of the settlement of 1815 still held good (N39 d). Fortunately Louis-Philippe had at hand old Talleyrand, a statesman of unrivalled acumen and experience in European politics. Talleyrand advised him to counter the hostility of the absolutist monarchies—Russia, Austria and Prussia—by an alliance with the only other Power with a liberal constitution—Britain.

At the moment the British Government was in the very un-liberal hands of the Duke of Wellington; but the country was about to become far more democratic. The nation as a whole had long been growing restive over the fact that it was not truly represented in Parliament, and an irresistible tide of

public opinion was mounting in favour of the Whig policy of parliamentary reform. Wellington's resistance to it had already cost him the support of the younger and abler members of the Tory Party, such as Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston. And now the July Revolution in France egged the British people on to keep their boasted place in the van of democratic progress.

In 1830 a general election placed the Whigs in power after half a century "in the wilderness." Lord Palmerston joined the new Ministry as Foreign Secretary; and for the next thirty-five years his spirit dominated British foreign policy. His was an active, energetic, optimistic temperament, brimful of confidence in the excellence of British institutions. He was ready to sympathise with the efforts of foreign "liberals" to achieve something similar for themselves; and upon occasion he turned this sympathy into active support.

Thus Talleyrand had a cordial reception when he came over—forty years after his first sojourn in Britain as ambassador—to carry through the policy he had suggested. No formal agreement was signed, but the two Governments arrived at a general understanding that their interests in Europe were similar, and that they would act together whenever possible.

§ 102. THE KINGDOM OF GREECE.—The first matter in which this *entente cordiale* played a useful part was the settlement of Greece. To understand the situation, we must go back to the time when Czar Nicholas broke up what was left of the Holy Alliance by supporting the Greeks in their long-drawn-out struggle for independence against the Sultan (1826) (§ 97). This had forced the hands of the French and British Governments, which had hitherto kept aloof; for they could not allow Russia to intervene single-handed lest the Czar should become dictator of the Levant. So they made an agreement with him that the Sultan should be compelled to give Greece an independent Government under Turkish suzerainty (Treaty of London, 1827). The cessation of bloodshed in the Morea was enforced by a combined naval squadron under Admiral

Codrington. As this squadron lay alongside Mehemet Ali's fleet in NAVARINO BAY (1827), a chance shot had precipitated a general engagement, in the course of which all the Turko-Egyptian vessels were destroyed. This happened just after the death of Canning, when the Duke of Wellington had become Prime Minister. The Duke heartily disliked the policy of protecting rebels, and apologised to the Sultan for this "un-toward event"; but the damage was done and the issue decided. The fact that Mehemet Ali was now cut off from his base made it impossible for the Sultan to subdue the Greeks; and the withdrawal of the British and French forces which followed merely left the Czar to reap the fruits of the episode. When the troops were advancing on Constantinople the Sultan agreed to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), which embodied the terms outlined in the Treaty of London. Before this had been ratified by the other Powers the July Revolution had taken place in France and the Whigs came into office in England; but the new Governments were as perturbed as the old at the prospect of Russian domination in the Balkans, and they decided to create an independent Greece that would owe its existence to them rather than to the Czar. Some settlement of the problem was urgent, for Capodistrias, who had been acting as head of the Provisional Government there, had been assassinated, and the country had fallen into an appalling state of chaos. So with the support of Metternich (always jealous of Russia) they created a "Kingdom of the Hellenes," entirely independent both of Sultan and of Czar, the throne of which was eventually accepted by Prince Otto of Bavaria (1832). Franco-British solidarity compelled the Czar to accept this arrangement, and in the following year a new nation-state came into existence.

§ 103. THE BELGIAN REVOLUTION.—Another matter in which Anglo-French co-operation had decisive results at this juncture was in the creation of an independent kingdom of Belgium. The Congress of Vienna had given the former Austrian Netherlands to the restored King of Holland (N40). In some respects the

two little countries were complementary : the Dutch lived by overseas trade and had valuable colonies, while the Belgians were mainly agricultural and industrial producers. But there were lines of cleavage which made fusion impossible. For one thing the Dutch were ardently Protestant, while many Belgians were equally ardent Catholics ; and King William I, though in some respects an able and enlightened ruler, did nothing to overcome these repugnances. There were two parties among the Belgians, the "clericals," who wanted to restore the privileges of the Catholic Church, and the "liberals," who held by the doctrines inherited from the French Republic. The King antagonised both these elements, the former by his insistence on religious equality, and the latter by his undisguised favouritism towards his Dutch subjects. The Dutch language was made compulsory in all public affairs ; taxes were imposed which fell more heavily on Belgian produce than on Dutch commerce ; Belgium, with a population nearly double that of Holland, had no more seats in the combined Parliament ; in the army there were only 200 Belgian officers out of a total of 2000 ; and so on.

Realising that their only chance lay in united action, the two Belgian parties formed a union in 1828 ; but the King curtly refused their petition for a separate Government under his crown. The explosive material was detonated by the July Revolution in Paris. The performance of an opera at Brussels, in which the action was based on similar conditions, sent the audience into the streets shouting : "*Faisons comme les Français !*" (6th August 1830). By the following morning the whole city was in an uproar, a Provisional Government was set up, and the old standard of Brabant was floating above the Town Hall. The Crown Prince appeared on the scene with some troops, but could make no progress through the barricaded streets, and was forced to retire. The revolt quickly spread to other towns, including Luxembourg, which was a personal possession of the House of Orange. The King now gave way to the demand for Home Rule, but it was too late. The

Provisional Government issued a declaration of Independence (October) and summoned a National Convention to decide upon a Constitution.

§ 104. THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM.—Obviously the Powers could not ignore all this, for they had themselves created and guaranteed the union which the Belgians had broken up. The Czar was all for intervening in the cause of the "legitimate rights" of a brother sovereign, and the King of Prussia mobilised an army on the frontier; but the French nation were aflame to support people who had for a quarter of a century been their fellow-citizens, and to partition a kingdom which had been set up for the express purpose of checking France. Louis-Philippe was in a delicate position. If he stood by while the reactionary Powers stamped out the revolt, his subjects would hurl him from his new-won throne with contempt; yet he did not dare to incur the displeasure of rulers who already looked askance upon him as a usurper.

The reactionary Powers, however, were distracted by revolts in Poland and Italy (§ 105), and were impressed by the Anglo-French *entente*. At a Five-Power Congress held in London they agreed to Belgium becoming an independent state (December 1830), and it fell to Talleyrand and Palmerston to conduct the complicated negotiations about details. The Belgian Convention had decided to set up a constitutional monarchy like France; but the question arose: Who was to be king? At first they offered the crown to the Duc de Nemours, second son of Louis-Philippe; but Palmerston intimated very definitely that Great Britain could not allow Belgium to become practically a part of France. So Louis-Philippe prudently declined the honour; and the Belgians turned to Prince Leopold of Coburg, a German by birth and the widower of an English princess. The Powers agreed to this arrangement, the French King being mollified by the marriage of Leopold to one of his daughters.

The final settlement came in May 1832 when the Five

Powers agreed to guarantee the "neutrality" of the new Kingdom—*i.e.* they undertook to make war on any state which attacked it. The King of Holland indignantly protested, and invaded Belgium; but the appearance of a French army, acting as mandatary of the Powers, compelled him to retire, though he sulkily refused to recognise the new kingdom until 1839.

§ 105. THE REVOLT OF POLAND.—The successful revolutions in France and Belgium inspired others which had very different results. In Italy, for instance, there were rebellions in Modena, Parma and the Papal Domains. Italian discontents have always provided scope for adventurous rulers of France, and the insurgents hoped for the support of Louis-Philippe to counter-balance the inevitable hostility of Metternich. But they were disappointed. The new King of the French was in no position to challenge the might of Austria, and his attention was fully occupied with events in Belgium. So the Italians were left to make what terms they could with their masters.

The fate of the Polish insurrection (1830-1831) was very similar, though on a much larger scale. Alexander I had in the first flush of his "liberal" enthusiasm made his Polish provinces into a constitutional kingdom separate from autocratic Russia, with its own army and legal system (§ 84). But the Polish nobles were not satisfied. They complained because he had not included in the kingdom certain former possessions of Poland, such as Latvia and Lithuania; and the army officers formed a secret society to work for a "Greater Poland." This provoked Alexander (especially after he came under the influence of Metternich) (§ 88) to restrict the liberties which he had granted under the Constitution of 1815. His successor Nicholas went further—he nullified the Constitution by refusing to convoke the Diet.

If the Poles were bent on rebellion, they would have done well to choose the time when Nicholas was engaged in the Turkish War (§ 102); but they let this opportunity slip. The

Revolution of July caused great excitement among them, and the announcement that a Polish force might be sent to suppress the Belgian Revolution led to a mutiny which developed into a revolt. The fact that the Polish army was quite separate from that of Russia made the fighting which followed seem like an international war. The Poles succeeded in repelling the first onset of the Czar's troops ; but they failed to make the most of their advantage. Prince Czartoryski, who had been made head of the Provisional Government in Warsaw, knew better than the hot-headed country squires around him the hopelessness of opposing the vast resources of the Czar, and insisted on opening negotiations for the convocation of the Diet and the enlargement of the kingdom. Nicholas skilfully prolonged the discussions while he was concentrating his forces. Meanwhile the extremists had gained the upper hand in Warsaw and published a Declaration of Independence. In taking this step they confidently expected active support from France and Britain ; but warm as was the sympathy felt for the Poles in those countries, and hearty as was the dislike of their Governments for the Czar, they were not prepared to undertake a campaign in such a remote country. For some months hostilities were held up by a terrible outbreak of cholera in both armies, but in the long run there was no withstanding the weight of the Russian legions. Warsaw was captured in September 1831. The Czar now abolished the separate existence of Poland and incorporated it in the Russian Empire. Almost the whole of the Polish aristocracy went into exile. Most of them took refuge in France ; and the palace of the Princes Czartoryski in Paris remained a centre of Polish national culture right down to 1919.

FRANCE UNDER THE JULY MONARCHY

1830-1840

§ 106. A DIFFICULT SITUATION.—King Louis-Philippe's constitutional position was very different from that of his predecessors. Louis XVIII had *granted* constitutional liberties to his subjects: he and his brother felt responsible only to God for their conduct; whereas the Orleans monarch had *accepted* the Charter as a contract between himself and the nation, and was liable to dismissal if he broke it. The rôle which he had to play was that of a citizen-king; and he was admirably suited for it in many ways. During his long exile he had rubbed shoulders with all sorts and conditions of men, and after the Restoration in 1815 he played for popularity by affability and simplicity of manners. The tactics which had gained him the throne were equally useful for keeping him on it. The *bons bourgeois* of Paris were flattered to see him acting like one of themselves—walking about the streets with an umbrella under his arm, exchanging greetings with all and sundry; and so were their wives when the Queen received them at the Palais-Royal seated at her needlework among her daughters. The revision of the Charter (N47) deprived the Church and the aristocracy of all political power. It was the upper middle class—merchants, manufacturers and professional men—who had gained the upper hand; and the main bulwark of the régime was the National Guard, which was limited to the well-to-do by the provision that members had to provide their own uniforms and equipment.

Nevertheless, the King was faced with many difficulties. The root of them was the fact that he had gained the throne without the cordial support of the bulk of the nation. Though the French people had resented the anachronistic posing of

Charles X, they had not wanted to go so far as to dethrone him. The Revolution had been carried through by a few thousand workmen and students of Paris, and the settlement had been devised by a still smaller number of middle-class politicians (§ 100). The unorganised masses of the nation had merely shrugged their shoulders and accepted the *fait accompli*.

Thus Louis-Philippe had to meet opposition both from the Right and from the Left. The Legitimists regarded him as a mean usurper who had tricked little "Henri V" out of his rightful heritage; they ridiculed his democratic Court, and called him "King of the Barricades." Fortunately they were so few and so unpopular that they could stir up little trouble. The Republicans were more dangerous. They formed societies and ran journals to carry on propaganda for the renewal of the Revolution which had been checked on the third of the "Days of July." Cavaignac continued to be their leading figure, and they had a considerable following among the working-class in the big towns. Quite early in the reign they raised a riot demanding the execution of Polignac and his colleagues; and several other disturbances followed. An attempted assassination of the King by a Corsican named Fieschi gave the Government an excuse for vigorous repression. By the LAWS OF SEPTEMBER (1835) it became a crime to avow republican principles, or to discuss the restoration of the Bourbons, or to do or say anything to the discredit of the existing régime, or to print a caricature without Government sanction. For the time being, at any rate, republican propaganda was silenced.

§ 107. THIERS AND GUIZOT.—Louis-Philippe would have been a good deal firmer on his throne if he had had a solid majority in Parliament; but the groups of politicians who had momentarily joined forces to make him King soon fell asunder. The first ten years of the reign were crowded with political incidents, the King trying various combinations of ministers in the hope of finding one which would both carry out his policy and command a majority in the

Chamber. Of the half-dozen ministries which held office during this decade, the most notable were that of Casimir - Perier (1831-1832), which definitely established the monarchy by repressing disorder and gaining recognition from the Powers ; and that of Marshal Soult (1832-1836), which chained up republicanism by the "Laws of September." This latter Ministry was eventually broken up by a split between its two chief personalities, Guizot and Thiers. Guizot's outlook was coloured by the rigid Calvinism in which he was brought up. Under the Empire he had made a mark as lecturer and writer on history, his special study being the constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century in England. When the Bourbons were restored in 1815 he became leader of the "doctrinaires" who adopted the creed of English Toryism. Driven out of politics by the victory of the Ultras in 1820 (§ 89), he had gained re-election for the Chamber of 1830, and had taken the lead among the deputies who offered the throne to Louis-Philippe (§ 100). The chief traits of his political character were his belief in a franchise restricted to the well-to-do, his contemptuous indifference to popular clamour, and his "Tory" view that the King ought to play a vital part in the conduct of the Government. THIERS, on the other hand, was a quick-witted, lively improviser—a brilliant debater, quick to grasp ideas and to assimilate them with his own. He had begun life as a journalist under the Restoration, and had written a popular *History of the Revolution*. He, too, had been conspicuous in the Revolution of July, leading the revolt of the journalists against the Ordinances, and drawing up the manifesto in favour of Orleans. Ardently patriotic, he urged the Government to take a "forward" policy in foreign affairs, to revive the glories of France, and to wipe out the humiliations of 1814-1815. His views on the position of the monarchy were those of the English Whigs—that the King must choose ministers who have the support of Parliament. Naturally, the King's leanings were all to Guizot and his "*Centre Droit*," but it was not until 1840 that circumstances enabled him to establish it in office.

§ 108. THE RISE OF THE "NAPOLEONIC LEGEND."—In the romantic memoirs which Napoleon dictated at St. Helena, he represented himself as embodying the Revolution, and as having been on the verge of setting up a truly democratic régime when he was thwarted by jealous reactionary potentates. Distance lends enchantment to the view in politics as in nature ; and after the great man's death many Frenchmen began to look back on the Empire through rose-tinted spectacles. Forgetting its cost in blood and tears and treasure, they only remembered its glory. They recalled that wherever Napoleon's armies went they aroused national spirit, swept away feudal cobwebs, opened the career to the talents, gave the blessings of efficient government under a logical code of laws, and checked priestly domination. Nor could they help contrasting all this with the corrupt and inglorious régimes which had followed.

The cult did not seem actively dangerous to the monarchy, however. For since the death of Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, in 1832, the only possible Bonapartist claimant was LOUIS NAPOLEON, son of the one-time King of Holland—a singularly unattractive young man with short legs, a pasty complexion and leaden eyes. He had grown up in Switzerland, where he served in the army and wrote a book on artillery practice. Two ill-conceived attempts to overthrow the Orleans Government had done it more good than harm. In 1836 he tried to rally the Strasbourg garrison to the magic name of Bonaparte ; but the soldiers were not impressed, and the Pretender was deported (with a pension) to America. Three years later he made himself ridiculous by landing at Boulogne with a caged vulture to represent the eagle which his uncle had made the emblem of French glory. This time the Government paid him the compliment of a State trial for treason. Louis Napoleon seized the opportunity to make a speech which was a manifesto to the nation ; but nobody minded much when he was sentenced to imprisonment for life in a fortress.

The astute old King saw that the best way of controlling Bonapartism was to join it himself, and treat it as a matter of

purely historical interest. He therefore encouraged Thiers (whose *History of the Consulate and Empire* had done much to create the legend) to arrange for the transference of the Emperor's body from St. Helena to Paris, where it was re-interred with all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war in an ornate sarcophagus in the Invalides.

§ 109. MEHEMET ALI.—The crisis which brought Guizot into power arose—like so many crises in nineteenth-century Europe—through a recrudescence of the “Eastern Question.” This time the trouble was stirred up by Mehemet Ali, the enterprising and ambitious Pasha of Egypt. It will be remembered that his troops, under the command of his brilliant soldier-son, Ibrahim Pasha, had been called in by Sultan Mahmud to quell the revolt of Greece (§ 97). For these services he had been rewarded with Crete, but he was dissatisfied and demanded Syria as well. In 1831 he found an excuse to send an army into that province under Ibrahim, which utterly destroyed the force the Sultan sent to oust it. For the time Mahmud had to give way; but the desire to be avenged on his upstart vassal was henceforward his ruling passion. It overcame even his fear of Russia. In order to gain the support of the Czar for his next move against Mehemet, he agreed by the Treaty of UNKIAR-SKELESSI (1833) to close the Dardanelles in wartime, thus making the Black Sea a Russo-Turkish lake. The Governments of France and Britain were very upset at this turn of events, for it had become part of their settled policy to play the Sultan off against the Czar. “Russophobia” became an obsession in Great Britain, and for the next thirty years Palmerston was its spokesman. Czar Nicholas cordially returned the antipathy. He regarded Palmerston as a “Jacobin” for supporting the French “usurper” who had replaced the “legitimate” Charles X, and he set himself to drive a wedge between the two Western Powers.

Sultan Mahmud now pushed on the reorganisation of his army; and in 1839 he determined to wait no longer lest he should die before having the satisfaction of chastising Mehemet.

His attack on Syria had the same result as before—overwhelming defeat for his forces. He died before the news reached Constantinople; whereupon the Powers intervened, intimating to Mehemet and the Turkish Government that they would arbitrate upon the dispute. But a divergence now emerged between Britain and France. Palmerston adhered to the support of Turkey as a check on Russia, and he particularly dreaded the prospect of Egypt becoming a powerful independent state astride the overland route to India. The French, on the other hand, had maintained a connection with Egypt ever since Napoleon's adventures there. There were many French officers in Mehemet's army, and important French commercial interests were involved in the country.

Czar Nicholas gleefully seized the chance to break up the *entente*. He had come to realise that his agreement with Turkey would do him more harm than good if it involved the hostility of Britain. So he undertook to let it lapse and joined with Britain, Austria and Prussia in arranging that Syria should be restored to the direct government of the Sultan. But Thiers, the minister in charge of French foreign affairs, was burning to revive the prestige of France in European politics. He angrily protested against the decision of the other Powers, and when a British fleet was sent to enforce that decision he urged Louis-Philippe to give armed support to Mehemet. For a moment it seemed as if war would break out; but the cautious old King drew back from challenging the rest of Europe in general and England in particular. Thereupon Thiers resigned, and Guizot became chief minister for the rest of the reign.

As for Mehemet Ali, he bowed to the inevitable, abandoned his claim to Syria, and accepted instead the position of hereditary Pasha (afterwards "Khedive") of Egypt.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE JULY MONARCHY

1840-1848

§ 110. GUIZOT "BOUCHE DU ROI."—The crisis of 1840 (§ 109) had been a dangerous corner for the Orleans monarchy, and in discarding Thiers for Guizot, Louis-Philippe was playing for safety. For the next seven years these tactics were successful. There was no more friction between King and Ministry, for Guizot was, as he said, his "mouth"—the organ through which his policy was expressed. And Guizot was conservatism incarnate. This is not to say that he was reactionary: he was as rigidly opposed to Divine Right as to Republicanism. The constitutional monarchy created by the Revolution of July was his political idea, and he would not sanction the least alteration in it. In his view the only Frenchmen to have any political rights were those (less than 200,000 out of a population of 35,000,000) who paid 200 francs or more in annual taxation (N47). Democracy in the modern sense of the term he regarded as "red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

To preserve this system and keep himself in power he acted on the motto of Walpole: *Quieta non movere*—"Let sleeping dogs lie"—avoid trouble everywhere and always, at home and abroad. And his method of controlling Parliament was equally Walpolian—indirect corruption by means of "patronage." More than half the deputies held Government posts or contracts. Guizot himself was austere incorruptible; but he did not disdain the bare-faced "jerrymandering" of elections to ensure a Government majority in the Chamber. Secure of this, he haughtily ignored the nine-tenths of the nation who were voteless. His main concern was to piece together the fragments of the *entente* with Britain which had been shattered by his predecessor's indiscreet support of Mehemet Ali. In pursuit

of this aim he had to swallow several humiliating affronts. For instance, Britain had long claimed the "RIGHT OF SEARCH"—the right of British naval vessels to board merchant ships of all nations to see if they were carrying slaves. The Bourbons had refused; but a restricted right had been granted by Louis-Philippe in 1833, and Guizot now agreed to withdraw most of the restrictions. Then there was "L'AFFAIRE PRITCHARD." A British consul-missionary in Tahiti stirred up the natives to resist a French admiral who had annexed the island; and the admiral had deported him after locking him up for some days. Fierce passions were aroused on both sides of the Channel over the incident; and when Guizot gave way to British protests by making apologies and reparation, there was great indignation in France.

§ III. THE OPPOSITION.—It will help us to grasp the political situation in France during the 'forties if we take an analogy from our own history. Guizot corresponded to old-fashioned Tories like Castlereagh or Wellington, upholders of the existing régime and of the constitutional powers of the Crown. On the Opposition side there were two groups. One, the *Centre Gauche* led by Thiers, resembled roughly our Whig-Liberals like Lord John Russell and Palmerston. They were not opposed to parliamentary reform at some future date, but their immediate object was to force the King to dismiss Guizot, and their main line of attack was upon that minister's spineless foreign policy. The *Gauche Dynastique*, on the other hand, were more like the English Radicals. Under the leadership of ODILON BARROT they aimed at limiting the personal power of the King, at excluding Government "place-men" from the Chamber, and at lowering the *cens* (=tax-qualification for the vote) to 100 francs.

Outside parliamentary circles a little band of republicans persisted in their aim to continue the Revolution from the point where it had been checked in 1830, their immediate aim being "universal suffrage." Their only representative in the Chamber

was LEDRU-ROLLIN; but they propagated their creed in a journal called *La Réforme*, and in secret societies among students and artisans.

In the course of the reign many of these republicans became imbued with a new doctrine which was now becoming known as "SOCIALISM." The Industrial Revolution had begun to make headway in France after 1815, and the produce of French factories doubled during the reign of Louis-Philippe. It was an age of prosperity for "big business," when fortunes were made by manufacturers, merchants and bankers, and by exploiters of the "railway boom." But very little of this percolated down to the working-classes. The evils of the factory-system, bad as they were in England, were far worse in France, where the pay for a fifteen-hour day was two francs for a man and one franc for a woman. The July Monarchy was essentially an employers' régime. There was no hope of "Factory Acts"—the Government's only reply to agitation was stern repression in the name of "order." Thus the working-class were eager for schemes to overturn the "capitalist" system which seemed to be the cause of their miseries. Fourier and Saint-Simon had in an earlier generation dreamed of substituting co-operation and the brotherhood of man for cut-throat competition; but it was a young journalist named LOUIS BLANC who first gave Socialism a definite programme. In a pamphlet called *L'Organisation du Travail* he maintained that the State ought to organise production and provide its citizens with work and wages. All economic evils would vanish, he declared, if the Government would furnish workers in each industry with funds to start "national workshops" (*ateliers nationaux*), to be controlled by the workers themselves. Their maintenance in reasonable comfort would be the first claim on the products of their labour, and the extra profits would be divided between them and the State. To Blanc and his friends such political reforms as the extension of the franchise were important mainly as a means of creating a truly democratic Government which would bring about a social and economic transformation on these lines.

If Guizot had been willing to make some concessions to the moderates in the Chamber he would have taken the sting out of their attacks ; but he was of the type that breaks rather than bends. His last word to those who asked for a lowering of the *cens* was, "Get rich and you will gain the vote under the existing system" ; and the phrase *Enrichissez-vous* has been quoted as the watchword of his régime. As for Louis-Philippe, with advancing age he became more and more of the crusty authoritarian, and less and less disposed to listen to advice. When a group of Government supporters asked to send a deputation in favour of some reform, his reply was, "Dites à ces messieurs de passer à la gauche ; je n'ai pas besoin d'eux." Even members of his own family were not exempt—he banished his son the Duc de Joinville to a post in Africa when he ventured to suggest some concession to the reformers.

§ 112. THE WRITING ON THE WALL.—Year by year a feeling of contemptuous disgust for the Government increased among all classes except the prosperous *bourgeois*. Scandalous cases of political corruption were brought to light by the Opposition Press, and Thiers poured ridicule on Guizot's ignoble truckling to foreign Powers. The comatose inaction of the Government offered another line of attack. "What have they done in seven years ?" asked one critic ; "nothing, nothing, nothing !" Lamartine, poet and historian, coined a famous phrase when he said that "A stone post (*une borne*) could rule as well as Guizot." France was ashamed of its Government ; above all, France was *bored*. The old King and his ministers might, ostrich-like, stick their heads in the sand, but this did nothing to avert the fate that was stalking them.

It came appreciably nearer through two ill-judged excursions into foreign affairs. The first was "THE SPANISH MARRIAGES." The marriages of Isabella the girl-queen of Spain and of her sister Maria Louisa were a matter of European importance. Louis-Philippe wanted to see a member of his own family on the Spanish throne, but Britain objected to any revival of the

"Family Compact" which had upset the balance of Europe in the eighteenth century. During the summer of 1843, in the course of a visit by Queen Victoria to Louis-Philippe, Lord Aberdeen (Foreign Secretary in Peel's Ministry) agreed with Guizot to a compromise on the subject: Britain would not object to the Infanta marrying the Duc de Montpensier, provided that Queen Isabella was already married and had a child to succeed her on the throne. But a year later Guizot contrived that the wedding of Montpensier should take place simultaneously with that of the Queen to Don Francis de Assiz, a degenerate whom she detested, and by whom it was extremely unlikely that she would have any children. It was a disgusting piece of trickery. Guizot might boast that France had achieved something in European politics for the first time since 1815; but he had smashed beyond repair the connection with England, for the sake of which he had repeatedly humiliated France. Moreover, he had made a personal enemy of Palmerston, who had just returned to the British Foreign Office; and it was not long before that adroit statesman had an opportunity for retaliation.

Guizot tried to make up for the loss of British friendship by currying favour with Metternich over a crisis which had recently arisen in Switzerland. That little country was a loose confederation of tiny "cantons" which varied in race, speech and religion. A struggle broke out between a liberal party which wanted to build up a more unified state and a Catholic party headed by the Jesuits. The former had control of most of the cantons, and the latter therefore maintained the right of each to manage its own affairs. In 1845 the Catholic cantons formed a separate organisation called the SONDERBUND. The Federal Assembly (in which the liberal majority was now stronger than ever) decreed the liquidation of the Sonderbund and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland; whereupon the Sonderbund appealed to the Powers against a violation of the cantonal liberties which had been guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna. France now made a great parade of joining Metternich in supporting their protest. Palmerston, true to his general policy

of sympathy for foreign liberals, took such a long time "considering" whether Britain would take part in a joint intercession that the Swiss Confederation had time to organise an armed force and to crush the Catholic party. The matter being now settled, the Powers could not well reopen it. Thus the July Monarchy had stripped itself of the last shred of its claim to be "liberal," without achieving anything at all.

§ 113. THE DAYS OF FEBRUARY.—The cup of France's humiliation was almost full. Guizot had entrenched himself so strongly that nothing less than a revolution would suffice to shift him, so a revolution there had to be. And that revolution, once started, continued of its own momentum until Louis-Philippe was shifted as well.

It began with a coalition of the Opposition groups led by Thiers and Odilon Barrot for a united effort to overthrow Guizot. The French lack our tradition of "public meetings," and this agitation took the form of public banquets at which "after-dinner speeches" were made. These speeches became more and more inflammatory, until the Government was goaded into prohibiting one announced for 22nd February 1848. After some hesitation the Opposition leaders cancelled the arrangements; but in spite of this a crowd collected, sang the *Marseillaise*, and trooped about the streets shouting for reform.

On the morrow the excitement was maintained, and the pent-up indignation engendered by the discussions and harangues of the past few years found vent in mob violence. Memories of 1830 stirred; arms were seized, and barricades thrown up to defend the east end of the city against military action. Cries of "Down with Guizot!" were heard on every hand. The National Guard was called out, but many refused to parade, and some even joined the rioters. At these signs of disaffection in the corps which had hitherto been the mainstay of his rule, the old King was smitten with panic, and he dismissed Guizot from office. Had he done this twenty-four hours earlier there would have been no revolution; but it was now too late for such

mild measures. Mobs came crowding round the palace with hostile shouts, and before nightfall the King was intimidated into appointing Thiers and Odilon Barrot as ministers—which was tantamount to a promise of “parliamentary reform.”

Thiers had now gained all that he wanted ; but he found that the passions he had aroused could not be checked at will. For during the following night the republicans determined to take advantage of the excitement to gain their own ends. They placed the bodies of some men who had been killed in the rioting on lorries and paraded them through the streets to arouse the horror and indignation of the multitude. “Louis-Philippe nous fait massacrer comme Charles X,” said a poster ; “Qu’il aille le rejoindre !” Cries of “Vive la République !” were heard in the streets for the first time since 1830. The old King was no longer the man he had been on that occasion. His nerve gave way ; he abdicated in favour of his ten-year-old grandson, the Comte de Paris, and hastily left for England, where he and the Queen landed as “Mr. and Mrs. Smith.” By this action he left his supporters—including the majority in the Chamber—in the lurch. A mob broke into the Assembly Hall and insisted on the deputies nominating a Provisional Government, of which the chief members were Ledru-Rollin and a well-known *littérateur* named Lamartine. Nothing was said about abolishing the monarchy ; but that issue was being shaped at that very moment in another part of Paris.

For during the afternoon Louis Blanc and his friends had taken possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where they proclaimed a socialist republic and set up a Provisional Government of their own, including Blanc and a workman named Albert. For a few hours it seemed as if an armed conflict would break out between the faction of the *tricolore* and the faction of the red flag ; but this was averted through the tactful mediation of Lamartine, who induced Blanc and his colleagues to take subordinate office in the Government which had been set up at the Tuileries, on the understanding that a Constituent Assembly should be elected by universal suffrage to meet on 5th March.

NOTES ON PERIOD III (1815-1848)

MOST IMPORTANT RULERS OF EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN :	GEORGE III (1760-1820). GEORGE IV (1820-1830). WILLIAM IV (1830-1837). VICTORIA (1837-1901).
FRANCE :	LOUIS XVIII (1814-1824). CHARLES X (1824-1830). LOUIS-PHILIPPE (1830-1848).
RUSSIA :	ALEXANDER I (1801-1825). NICHOLAS I (1825-1855).
AUSTRIA :	FRANCIS I (1792-1835). FERDINAND I (1835-1848).
PRUSSIA :	FREDERICK WILLIAM III (1797-1840). FREDERICK WILLIAM IV (1840-1861).
SPAIN :	FERDINAND VII (1814-1833). ISABELLA II (1833-1868).

No. 39.—THE FOUR TREATIES OF 1815.

(a) *The Act of Vienna* (June 1815), by which the frontiers of Europe were settled. Signed after the Congress of Vienna (November 1814-June 1815) by all the states which had been at war with France in 1814.

Viz. *Great Britain* (represented by Castlereagh and Wellington); *Russia* (by Alexander I and Nesselrode); *Austria* (by Francis I and Metternich); *Prussia* (by Frederick William III and Hardenberg); *Spain*; *Sweden*; *Sardinia*; and *Portugal*. In the later stages *France* was represented by Talleyrand, who insisted upon being received on equal terms now that the war was over.

(b) *The Holy Alliance* (September 1815), a personal pact between sovereigns, suggested by the Czar, the signatories of which formed a religious brotherhood.

Alexander was the President Wilson of the Vienna Congress—the man with a gospel. All European sovereigns except the Pope and the Sultan were invited to join in declaring their intention of ruling “according to the sublime truths of God our Saviour,” and of basing their policy “on the principles of justice, charity and peace.” Original members: Czar, Emperor of Austria, King of Prussia. Britain could not join, as George III was *non compos mentis*. All the other sovereigns of Europe joined, except the Pope and the Sultan; but nobody took it

seriously, except the simple-minded King of Prussia, who was a great admirer of Alexander.

(c) *The Second Treaty of Paris* (November 1815)—a peace-treaty between France and the four principal victor-Powers.

Terms not much harder than in the First Treaty (before the Hundred Days), lest the restored monarchy should be made unpopular. An Army of Occupation and an indemnity of £40,000,000 to pay for it. Savoy ceded to Kingdom of Sardinia, to make future aggression difficult. Works of art taken by Napoleon returned to Italy.

(d) *The Quadruple Alliance* (November 1815), by which the four chief victor-Powers renewed the Treaty of Chaumont—their alliance to overthrow Napoleon (§ 79, 1814).

They now undertook to preserve the settlement made at Vienna and Paris, if necessary by force of arms, for fifteen years; and to meet periodically to discuss matters of common interest.

N.B.—THIS ALLIANCE WAS THE FORMAL CONSTITUTION OF THE "CONCERT OF EUROPE" BY WHICH IT WAS HOPED THAT PEACE WOULD BE ASSURED. (But it was a departure from the principles of the Holy Alliance, for it substituted for the brotherhood of all sovereigns a dictatorship of the Great Powers.)

NO. 40.—THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT.

THE RULERS OF EUROPE COULD NEVER HAVE BEATEN NAPOLEON BUT FOR THE NEWLY AROUSED NATIONAL SPIRIT AMONG THEIR PEOPLES, BUT IN THE SETTLEMENT THEY ALMOST COMPLETELY IGNORED IT.

Their great aim was STABILITY—a durable peace both in the relations between states and in their internal affairs. Hence the principles which guided them.

(a) *A ring-fence round France*; i.e. all states on French frontiers to be strong enough to hold up any recurrence of aggressive Bonapartism long enough for the Powers to mobilise their forces.

Hence: Belgium given to Holland; Savoy given to Sardinia (i.e. Piedmont); Rhine provinces given to Prussia. (Note the unforeseen consequences of this last provision: it allowed Prussia to replace Austria as the defender of Germany against France.)

(b) *Legitimacy*; the only counter-principle to "The Rights of Man" is an appeal to time-honoured, prescriptive rights.

Hence: Louis XVIII restored in France; Ferdinand VII in Spain; Victor Emmanuel I in Sardinia; many rulers of German states; Italy redivided into eight parcels. (But the Congress only observed this principle as far as they thought expedient: they punished the King of Denmark for siding with Napoleon by taking Norway from him; they did not reconstruct the Rhine archbishoprics, etc.; they did not restore the ancient republics of Venice and Genoa.)

(c) *Balance of Power*; no Power to be strong enough to defy the others. "Compensations" handed round with total disregard for wishes and interests of inhabitants.

Hence: Russia got Finland and parts of Prussian Poland; so Prussia was compensated with part of Saxony, the Rhine provinces, and Pomerania, which formerly belonged to Sweden; and Sweden was consoled with possession of Norway. Austria, having given Belgium to Holland, took Venice (better situated, geographically) as compensation; while Britain was rewarded for her naval and financial services with the Cape and Ceylon.

(The Statistical Commission of the Congress made elaborate calculations as to the number of "souls" transferred, so as to secure equalisation; and tried to estimate the comparative value of uneducated Polish peasants with educated Rhenish ditto!)

NO. 41.—THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF GERMANY BY THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

The Holy Roman Empire had been abolished in 1806 (§ 57), and the Emperor Francis did not want to revive it—he preferred to be "Emperor of Austria." Napoleon had substituted "The Confederation of the Rhine," coalescing dozens of smaller states to found larger ones, dependent on France. Some new organisation of Germany was now required, and a Commission of the Congress was given the task of devising one.

The War of Liberation had called forth passionate German patriotism (§ 75), and the patriots had been led to believe that something would be done to weld all Germans into a united nation after the war. But there were insuperable obstacles to this. (a) Who was to be head of it? Austria and Prussia were too equally balanced and jealous to allow each other such a position. (b) The smaller states, having just recovered their independence after ten years of subjection to Napoleon, were unwilling to surrender any of their sovereign power to such an organisation. (c) "Nationalism" was anathema to Metternich; to encourage it would have been fatal to the heterogeneous Austrian Empire; so he contrived to get control of the Commission to see that it did not set up a united Germany. (Especially as much of Austria's territorial strength—Hungary, northern Italy, etc.—would have been outside it.)

Much of Napoleon's organisation was retained; e.g. the number of states was kept at thirty-eight, whereas under the Holy Roman Empire there had been about 160.

The new German Confederation was to have a Diet consisting of delegates from all the governments; but each state was to have complete control over its own internal affairs.

Article VII paralysed effective action by stipulating that all important decisions must be unanimous.

Article XIII declared that all the states were to have elective assemblies; but there was no stipulation as to the powers of such assemblies, or how they were to be elected; and no means of compelling the individual states to carry the Article out.

THERE WAS GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT AMONG THE LIBERALS OF GERMANY AT THE LACK OF ANY REAL BOND, AND AT THE LACK OF PROVISION FOR REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE. IT WAS A MERE LEAGUE OF PRINCES.

No. 42.—THE RE-SETTLEMENT OF ITALY BY THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

Eight distinct states, mostly under foreign rulers.

(1) *Lombardy*, and (2) *Venetia*, under the Emperor of Austria (House of Hapsburg).

(3) *Piedmont*, *Sardinia*, *Savoy* and *Genoa*, under the "King of Sardinia" (House of Savoy).

(4) *The Two Sicilies* put back under Ferdinand IV (House of Bourbon).

(5) *Papal Domains* reconstituted, including Romagna.

(6) *Tuscany* put back under Grand Duke (House of Hapsburg).

(7) *Modena* put back under Grand Duke (D'Este—related to Hapsburgs).

(8) *Parma* and *Piacenza* formed appanage for Empress Marie Louise (Hapsburg).

No. 43.—A DEFENCE OF THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT.

(1) The dominant passions of Nationalism and Constitutionalism were ignored ; but nobody could foresee how deep-rooted they were.

Nor have we any right to assume that these principles were advantageous to the peoples. Many of them have since abandoned constitutional government in despair, and nationalism has brought Europe to chaos.

(2) It was not an ideal settlement, but the makers were not idealists—they were practical statesmen, whose object was PEACE and STABILITY.

They could be fairer than the democratic statesmen who shaped the Peace of 1919, for they were not dependent for their positions on the favour of war-frenzied and ignorant masses.

(3) Their hands were tied by pledges to Sweden and Holland, made when building up the coalition to "win the war."

Just as the men of 1919 were bound by pledges to Italy and Japan.

(4) LEGITIMACY (prescriptive inherited right—the foundation of our loyalty to our own Royal Family) appeared to be the only cohesive power which would give stability.

It is questionable whether subjects of the former Hapsburg Empire are happier or more prosperous now that they have shaken off the bonds of personal loyalty and become nation-states.

(5) The BALANCE OF POWER was the only alternative to the domination of one Power—and Europe had had quite enough of that.

Nor should we welcome it to-day.

(6) They established "THE CONCERT OF EUROPE"—a novel and fruitful idea.

It was the precursor of our League of Nations,

(7) The strengthening of Prussia by the Rhine provinces, and of Sardinia by Genoa, indicated the ultimate solution of the problems of German and Italian nationalism.

Germany was eventually united by an extension of the power of Prussia, and Italy by that of the Sardinian monarchy.

(8) They *did* secure STABILITY.

No more European wars for forty years. Their territorial arrangements were more permanent than is sometimes supposed. For instance : Italy was ultimately united—but not till 1870.

Germany was ultimately united—but not till 1871.

Norway was ultimately separated from Sweden—but not till 1905.

Poland was ultimately reunited—but not till 1919.

No. 44.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE: No. 6.—THE RESTORED MONARCHY.

Set forth in "The Charter" (1814).

Executive power belongs to the King, "the supreme chief of the State." He alone commands army and navy, signs treaties, nominates all ministers and officials; but his ministers can be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies. He can issue Ordinances in times of national emergency.

Legislative Power is shared by King and two assemblies: Chamber of Peers, nominated by the King, hereditary; Chamber of Deputies, elected by citizens who pay at least 300 francs per annum in direct taxes.

This qualification (*cens*) excluded all but the well-to-do from voting power; and the monarchy from 1815 to 1848 is sometimes called "*La Monarchie censitaire*."

The King has "initiative" in legislation. The King can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but must summon a fresh one within three months. A fifth of the Deputies are elected each year. All taxation requires approval of Chamber of Deputies.

The Constitution was mainly modelled on that of England. Apart from the governmental system outlined above, the Charter (a) proclaimed the admissibility of all Frenchmen to all offices; (b) guaranteed personal liberty of the Press, liberty of religion (though it made the Catholic Church "the religion of the State"); (c) confirmed the sale of national property effected under the Revolution; (d) abolished conscription in favour of a system of recruitment to be promulgated later.

No. 45.—THE FOUR CONGRESSES.

I. AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (October–November 1818).

(Alexander I and Capodistrias; Francis I and Metternich; Frederick William III and Hardenberg; Castlereagh and Wellington; Richelieu.)

(a) Decided to withdraw Army of Occupation from France forthwith.

Largely through the advice of Wellington.

(b) Admitted France to a Quintuple Alliance.

But secretly renewed the Quadruple Alliance as a precaution.

(c) Dropped a motion for regular meetings to settle European affairs.

Owing to opposition of Britain, which insisted on the original limitations of the Alliance—the maintenance of the Treaties of 1815.

(d) Dropped proposed action against the Barbary Corsairs and the Slave Trade.

The first would allow the Russian navy to dominate the Mediterranean, which Britain would not allow; and the second would give the British Navy the "Right of Search," which the other Powers would not allow.

(e) Refused application of Elector of Hesse to be made a King, in order not to "cheapen" royal dignity.

An interesting example of the attempt of the greater Powers to assume general authority over the lesser Powers.

II. TROPPEAU (October–November 1820).

(Alexander I and Capodistrias; Francis I and Metternich; Prince of Prussia and Hardenberg; neither France nor Britain officially represented.)

Summoned owing to the successful revolt in Naples (§ 91). Metternich most anxious to win over the Czar to his principle of collective action to put down revolutionary disturbances everywhere. At this Congress he was completely successful. Austria, Russia and Prussia signed THE TROPPEAU PROTOCOL binding themselves to take such action. Ferdinand of Naples summoned to a conference at Laibach to concert measures.

France accepted the Protocol, but Castlereagh protested that it was "destructive of all correct notions of internal sovereignty."

III. LAIBACH (January 1821).

The adjourned Congress authorised Austria to undertake the chastisement of the Neapolitan rebels.

IV. VERONA (October–December 1822).

(The three reactionary Powers as before; France represented by Montmorency, and Britain by Wellington.)

Intervention suggested (a) in the revolt of the Greeks against the Sultan (§ 96); (b) in the revolt of the colonies of South America against Spain; and (c) in the revolution in Spain itself (§ 91).

Britain's energetic protest against any such action hindered anything being done in the first two matters; but the French army was authorised by the three reactionary Powers to suppress the revolution in Spain.

BRITAIN'S "ISOLATIONIST" ATTITUDE CAUSED THE DISCONTINUANCE OF CONGRESSES.

No. 46.—"THE MONROE DOCTRINE."

When there was a possibility of the European Powers intervening in the struggle of the South American states for independence (§ 94), President Monroe sent a famous "Message to Congress" which has ever since been the basis of American foreign policy. After describing his negotiations with Russia, he went on :

"The rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent position they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers. We owe it to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . With the governments which have declared their independence, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of controlling in any manner their destiny by any European Power in any other manner than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

That is to say : AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS.

No. 47.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE: No. 7.—THE MONARCHY OF JULY.

The Charter was modified in several important respects.

(1) Instead of being styled "King of France by the Grace of God," Louis-Philippe was styled "King of the French by the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation."

(2) The *cens* was lowered from 300 francs to 200 francs.

But it was still a *monarchie censitaire* (N44).

(3) The Chamber of Deputies gained the right of initiating laws.

(4) Catholicism was no longer called "the religion of France," but merely "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen."

(5) Membership of the Chamber of Peers was no longer hereditary, but only for life.

(6) Charles X's innovations were declared illegal, especially (a) the power to issue Ordinances (§ 99), and (b) the Censorship of the Press.

(7) The National Guard was re-established.

But the rule that members had to provide their own uniform and equipment limited it to the middle-class.

CLERGY AND PEERAGE WERE NEVER AGAIN IMPORTANT FACTORS IN FRENCH PUBLIC LIFE. THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES BECAME THE MOST

IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE STATE. IT WAS A GOVERNMENT RUN BY AND FOR THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.

No. 48.—FAMOUS SAYINGS DURING THE PERIOD.

A piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense.

Castlereagh's comment on the Czar's Holy Alliance.

J'aimerais mieux scier du bois que de régner à la façon d'un roi d'Angleterre.

The spirit of "absolutism" as expressed by d'Artois.

I determined that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies; I called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.

Canning, in the House of Commons, January 1824, explaining his reasons for acknowledging the independence of the South American Republics. France had just reasserted her traditional influence in Spain by subduing a revolution there (§ 93).

Enrichissez-vous par le travail, et vous deviendrez électeurs.

Guizot's famous reply to those who demanded a lowering of the *cens*.

La France est une nation qui s'ennuie.

Pour faire cette politique une borne suffirait.

Qu'a-t-on fait depuis sept ans? Rien, rien, rien!

Three well-known expressions of the Opposition to Guizot (the first two by Lamartine).

My realm is like a worm-eaten house; if one part is removed, one cannot tell how much may fall.

Francis I on the Austrian Empire.

L'Italie consiste en des états indépendents, réunis seulement sous la même expression géographique.

Metternich's oft-quoted remark at the Congress of Vienna, when it was suggested that a special Commission should be appointed to deal with the affairs of Italy, like that which was devising the new Confederation for Germany.

Le roi règne, mais ne gouverne pas.

Thiers—the point of view of English Whiggism.

Le trône n'est pas un fauteuil vide.

Guizot—the point of view of English Toryism.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD III

1. To what extent did the Congress of Vienna accept the ideas and achievements of Napoleon as a basis of European settlement? (OL '29.)
2. Explain and illustrate the statement that the idea of nationality and the sovereignty of the people seem to have been ignored by the Congress of Vienna. (OL '32.)
3. What territorial adjustments were made by the Congress of Vienna with the special object of preventing further French aggression, and to what extent was the distribution of territory subsequently modified? (LGS '22.)
4. In what ways did the settlement made by the Congress of Vienna create material for future disputes? (LM '31, NUJB '31.)
5. What was the Holy Alliance? Describe briefly the part it played in European politics. (LGS '22.)
6. Did the history of the restored monarchy in France, 1815-30, show that the Bourbons had learned nothing and forgotten nothing? (OL '30.)
7. What differences became apparent between the European policy of Great Britain and that of the Holy Alliance during the period of the Congresses? (LGS '25.)
8. "Between 1815 and 1830 reaction was supreme." Discuss this statement in reference to (a) Germany and Austria, and (b) France. (CL '30.)
9. Describe the organisation of Germany between 1815 and 1848, and indicate the principal factors working for and against unification during that period. (NUJB '31, LM '25.)
10. What circumstances led to the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, and what was its effect on the general political situation in Europe? (LGS '25.)
11. What is meant by the Eastern Question? Trace the steps by which the Greeks won their independence. (OL '29.)
12. Compare the eastern policy of Canning with that of Metternich. (LGS '22.)
13. Show how the foreign policy of this country under Castlereagh and Canning differed from that of the other Great Powers. (CL '32.)
14. What was the aim of the Congress system established in 1815, and why did it collapse so soon? (LM '31, '32, NUJB '32.)
15. Tell the story of the winning of Belgian independence. (LGS '22, '23, NUJB '31.)
16. Account for the failure of the rising in Italy, 1820. (LGS '23.)
17. By what means was Greek independence brought about? (LGS '25, CL '30, LM '30, NUJB '31.)
18. What part did Great Britain play in the establishment of Greek independence? (LGS '24.)
19. What was the importance in the Greek struggle for independence of Ali of Janina, Hysilanti, Canning, Alexander I? (OL '32.)

20. Trace and account for the influence of Mehemet Ali on the relations of foreign Powers. (LM '25.)
21. Attempt a character sketch of Nicholas I of Russia, and indicate the main objects of his foreign policy. (LM '24, '25.)
22. Write an account of the risings in Poland, 1830 and 1863. (NUJB '32.)
23. Indicate the causes and account for the success of the Belgian rising in 1830. (LM '23.)
24. Tell the story of the winning of Belgian independence. (LGS '22, '23, NUJB '31.)
25. What caused the French Revolution of 1830? (LM '24, NUJB '32.)
26. Explain the effects of the French Revolution of 1830. (LM '25.)
27. Explain (a) the aims and (b) the influence of Metternich in European affairs, 1815-48. (NUJB '32.)
28. Give a brief account of Metternich's European policy from the Congress of Vienna to his fall. (LGS '23, OL '30, NUJB '31.)
29. Illustrate and account for the influence of Austria in Europe, 1815-42. (LM '24.)
30. Does an examination of the reign of Louis-Philippe show that he deserved the reputation of a pacific monarch? (OC '30.)
31. Describe and criticise the foreign policy of Louis-Philippe. (LM '24, '26.)
32. Account for the initial success and ultimate failure of the July Monarchy in France (1830-48). (LM '24, '32.)
33. Explain the increasing dissatisfaction with which the French people regarded the domestic policy of Louis-Philippe. (LGS '25.)
34. Give an account of the relations between France, Turkey and Russia, 1815-48.

PERIOD IV

THE NATION-MAKERS

(1848-1871)

In this Period we shall see how the "liberalism" engendered by the French Revolution and suppressed by the Powers in 1815 burst forth in a crop of revolts. Though it took different forms in different countries, it was everywhere compounded of two demands—for national unity and for democratic government. The revolutions of 1848 all failed, but before long nation-states were built up both in Italy and in Germany—albeit not in the shape designed by the pioneers of the movement. This Period begins with the rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and ends with his fall; but the two greatest figures in it were Cavour, the creator of united Italy, and Bismarck, the creator of the German Empire.

CHAPTER XXVI

FROM SECOND REPUBLIC TO SECOND EMPIRE

1848-1852

§ 114. THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—The fall of the Orleans Monarchy in February 1848 (§ 113) had shown once more how difficult it is to control the course of revolution when once it has been unleashed. "Liberals" like Thiers had merely wanted to force Louis-Philippe to dismiss Guizot; but the republicans had carried the movement on to drive the old King himself into exile. Of these republicans the most active and violent were a small minority of Socialists, mostly students

and artisans of Paris ; and the moderates, such as Lamartine, had been forced to give these extremists a share of office in the Provisional Government which they had set up. We shall now see how the struggle between these two discordant elements within the Provisional Government led to a fearful street-battle which drove France to accept another Bonapartist dictatorship to ensure law and order.

The Government was to hold office while arrangements were being made for a Constituent Assembly which was to provide France with a new Republican constitution. During these six weeks the doctrines of Socialism (§ 111) spread rapidly among the working-class of Paris. Now that the heavy hand of the Orleans censorship was removed, dozens of cheap journals and democratic clubs sprang into existence to spread the gospel which promised the working-man a fairer share of the produce of his labour. And the Socialist leaders had the same formidable means of coercing the Government which the Jacobins had had in 1792-1794—the armed mob of Paris. On the very first day of its existence the Provisional Government was intimidated by a mob into promising to provide “work for all.” But the system of “National Workshops” now set up was totally unlike that which Blanc had proposed in his pamphlet on the subject. As a matter of fact it was organised, in spite of his protests, by a non-socialist member of the Government who wanted to demonstrate its fallacy. Instead of employing men at their trades in State factories, all applicants were set to navvy-work—mostly digging trenches and filling them in again in the Champs-Élysées. Even so, it soon became impossible to find work, or even tools, for all those who came forward ; and they had to take turns, the unemployed half receiving one and a half francs for a day of standing about talking Socialism. The prospect of getting money for nothing drew tens of thousands from all the surrounding districts, many even giving up regular jobs to share the national bounty in Paris. By the middle of May there were 100,000 of them, and the cost to the country was over 160,000 francs a day.

§ 115. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—When at last the Constituent Assembly met, it was obvious that a stiff struggle was at hand. To counter the communistic aims of the Paris Socialists all other classes and parties throughout the country had drawn together to defend “the rights of property.” The first Revolution had made the majority of the nation property-owners; and though the average peasant owned but a few acres, those who own least are often most tenacious of their rights. Barely a score of the 750 members of the Assembly were Socialists, and none was appointed to the Executive Commission which was formed to carry on the government.

The Socialist leaders lost no time in planning the overthrow of a régime which threatened to thwart their hopes; and a crisis soon arose over the relief-works. The cost had already made a new tax necessary, and the thrifty peasants of France had no intention of continuing indefinitely to support “the rabble of Paris” out of their hard-won earnings. The Assembly had the moral support of nine-tenths of the nation when on 23rd June (1848) they announced that the system would be closed down forthwith. The “dole-drawers” took up the challenge with a boldness born of despair: better, they said, die by a bullet than by slow starvation. They threw up barricades and turned the east end of Paris into a formidable citadel defended by 60,000 armed insurgents. The Assembly gave full powers to General Cavaignac; and that stern old Republican acted with ruthless determination. In the course of a four days’ battle there were 10,000 casualties, and more officers were killed than in any of the great victories of Napoleon. At first the insurgents had an advantage in numbers; but conditions had changed since the days when the Paris mob could impose its will on all the rest of the country. Telegraphs now made the nation aware of what was going on, and railways enabled it to take a hand in shaping events. Thousands of National Guards poured in from the provinces by train to defend the cause of law, order and property. At length the last stronghold of the insurgents was stormed, and thousands of them were transported to Algeria without trial.

The Assembly could now finish off the construction of the Second Republic. Its essential feature was the balance between Legislature and Executive—a Chamber and a President, each elected by universal suffrage, and therefore each possessing equal democratic authority (N49). The candidates for the Presidency were Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The last-named had escaped from his fortress (§ 108) two years before, and had taken refuge in England, whence he had returned to France on being elected to the Constituent Assembly. The discredit of the Orleans régime had given great impetus to the “Napoleonic Legend,” and in the presidential election he had several notable advantages. For one thing, each of the other candidates had given offence to a considerable section of the nation. Lamartine was despised as a mere talker; Cavaignac was hated as the slayer of the working-men of Paris; Ledru-Rollin was distrusted as a Socialist. Moreover, many of the most influential men in France were not republicans at all. Bonapartists, Legitimists and Orleanists all favoured personal government, and all supported the Catholic Church against free-thinking Republicans. To the Bonapartists Louis Napoleon was a sort of Messiah, while to royalists of either brand he was at least an improvement on either of the other candidates, and they hoped that he would prepare the way for a restoration of the monarchy later on. They joined to form a “PARTY OF ORDER,” a Conservative anti-Socialist organisation which supported his candidature throughout the country. Moreover, to the mass of the nation the very name “Napoleon” was like a magic spell. As he himself said in his Election Address, it was a programme in itself, standing for order at home and glory abroad. By a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, the nation declared that this was just what it wanted.

§ 116. THE SECOND REPUBLIC.—The “Party of Order” followed up this success by gaining a big majority in the new Legislature; and before long the Socialists raised another riot

which gave it an excuse to suppress the party altogether, its leaders (including Ledru-Rollin) being driven into exile. The Conservatives were now free to proceed with their plans for reaction. By the *Loi Falloux* they deprived the secular University of France of its control over education, and allowed the Religious Orders to reopen their schools. A new Press Law required such heavy "caution-money" that the Socialist journals which had recently sprung up were extinguished. Above all, they passed an Electoral Law (May 1850) which required three years' registration as a taxpayer in the same constituency before a citizen could have a vote—a measure which automatically disfranchised a third of the electors and made "universal suffrage" a farce.

So far President and Assembly had acted in accord; but the Conservative majority regarded these measures as a prelude to a restoration of the monarchy, and Louis Napoleon had no intention of fading into obscurity at the end of his four years of office. He was convinced—and events afterwards proved him right—that what France needed and desired was government according to *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*,¹ which he alone could give her. At first he hoped to get his term of office prolonged beyond 1852 by legal methods; but when the Chamber rejected this proposal he determined that the constitution which could not be mended must be ended. With that in view he made himself popular at the expense of the Assembly by proposing that the recent Electoral Law should be repealed; for when it naturally refused to undo what it had done so recently with his approval, he was able to pose as the champion of democracy against benighted reactionaries. He won the favour of the army by double rations of liquor, and organised demonstrations of popularity when he reviewed the National Guard. He gradually gathered round him a clique of unscrupulous adventurers whose fortunes would be dependent on his own, and appointed them to responsible posts in the army, the ministry

¹ He had written a book with this name while imprisoned in the fortress of Ham.

and the police. Above all, he contrived to make people feel that he was the only man who could "save society" from the "reds."

§ 117. THE COUP D'ÉTAT.—On the evening of 1st December 1851 he held his usual Monday reception at the Élysée; but as soon as his guests had departed he met his henchmen in secret conclave to make the final arrangements for the forcible overthrow of the constitution he had sworn to maintain only three years before. Before morning all the politicians likely to oppose the change were arrested in their beds, and the walls of Paris had been placarded with a proclamation. The president announced that he had dissolved the Assembly (though the constitution gave him no power to do so) as a hotbed of plots against democracy. He would shortly submit to the nation—the only sovereign he recognised—a plan for a new form of Republic modelled on the Consulate as revised in 1802 (N27). "If you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol—France regenerated by the Revolution and organised by the Empire—is also yours, proclaim this by giving me the powers I ask."

The success of the *coup d'état* was due mainly to its suddenness, and to the foresight with which all chance of organising resistance was removed. Soldiers prevented the printing of newspapers and the ringing of a tocsin—they even took the precaution of smashing in the heads of the drums with which the National Guards were mustered. The Hall of the Assembly was occupied by troops; and when some of the deputies contrived to meet elsewhere, and boldly voted the dismissal of the perjured President, they were promptly surrounded and arrested. The Socialists attempted to barricade the streets once more; but most of the working-class, gratified by the restoration of universal suffrage, looked on at these preparations with a chilling lack of enthusiasm. When, on 4th December, General Mangin (one of the plotters, whom Napoleon had placed in command of the Paris garrison) marched his troops along the boulevards to attack the barricades, some impulse—nobody

quite knows to this day how it happened—made them open fire without orders on casual promenaders. In the course of a quarter of an hour some hundreds of persons—including a number of women and children—were killed. That ended all resistance in Paris. There were disturbances here and there in the provinces; but the new Government claimed that these were the beginning of a communist *jacquerie*, and thus gained the support of public opinion for ruthless measures of repression. Twenty-five thousand persons were arrested, of whom ten thousand were deported, practically without trial. Republicanism, thus deprived of its leaders, remained cowed and disorganised for a decade.

Thus the "Prince-President" was left master of the situation; and so weary was the nation of revolution and counter-revolution that when the promised plebiscite was held they approved the new régime by 7,500,000 votes to 650,000. And, as with the first Napoleon, it proved but a short and easy step from this dictatorship to the Imperial crown. The President prepared the way by recalling in his speeches the glories of the First Empire. He restored the Imperial eagles to the regiments of the army and was hailed by the troops with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" Within a year of the *coup d'état* the Senate—which under the revised constitution he had himself nominated—invited him to become hereditary "Emperor of the French," and he assumed the title of NAPOLEON III.¹ And the people of France endorsed this action by a more overwhelming majority than ever.

¹ The fact that he called himself Napoleon III was not a claim to "legitimacy." He fully recognised the legality of his immediate predecessors; but he claimed that the young "King of Rome" had reigned for a few days after the abdication of Napoleon I (§ 79).

THE *ANNUS MIRABILIS* OF REVOLUTION

1848

118. THE COMPONENTS OF "LIBERALISM." — The February Revolution (1848), which started the train of events described in the last chapter, inspired similar movements in a dozen other countries. Nationalism and Constitutionalism—the demand for racial unity and the demand for parliamentary government—were like two gases which together form an explosive mixture. Engendered by the French Revolution of 1789–1794, they had been repressed by the reaction which followed the fall of Napoleon; but there had been repeated splutterings of explosion, and in 1848 it was as if a spark had been brought into a coal-mine full of fire-damp.

It was the exciting news of the fall of the Orleans monarchy that precipitated the crisis in other countries; but it would be a mistake to suppose that it caused them in the same way that the July Revolution had caused the outbreaks of 1830–1831 in Brussels and Warsaw (§§ 102–105). The disturbances in Paris were *political* and *social*—they began with a demand for a change of ministry and ended with a demand for the "Right to Labour"; whereas the revolutions which followed in Italy and Germany were mainly *nationalist*. True, the insurgents also aimed at some form of democracy; but this was secondary to their determination to shake off foreign rule, and to draw together in one state the people of the same race. The disturbances of 1848 were the outcome of agitations which had been going on underground for years. They would have occurred sooner or later if Louis-Philippe had never been driven from the French throne.

§ 119. THE FIRST STAGE OF THE "RISORGIMENTO."—The storm burst in Italy. That "geographical expression" was

still divided into a number of separate states, most of them under foreign dynasties (N42). Metternich, realising that Austria's hold over Lombardy-Venetia would be weakened if any of the other Italian rulers were compelled to adopt constitutional government, had more than once sent troops to quell democratic risings in them (*e.g.* § 92). Until about 1830 such movements had been confined to particular states ; but thereafter the whole peninsula had begun to glow with the great nationalist passion known as the *Risorgimento*—"the resurrection."¹ To see their country united in one great state under an enlightened government became the dream of patriotic Italians from Nice to Calabria. For this ideal they sacrificed their lives and liberty with a devotion that aroused sympathy in liberal-minded men all over Europe. Thousands languished in the dungeons of Milan, Venice, Rome and Naples, and thousands more ate the bitter bread of exile in France, England and America, their sufferings made endurable by their vision of a glorious future for their country.

In 1846 their hopes were raised by a very unexpected event—the election of a Pope who sympathised with some, at least, of their aims. Hitherto the Papacy had been among the most reactionary of the Italian governments. Railways and telegraphs and gas-lamps were forbidden as savouring of advanced ideas ; spies abounded, and anyone suspected of being a "thinker" was liable to ceaseless persecution ; the administration, which was entirely in the hands of the clergy, was extremely corrupt and inefficient. But PIUS IX turned over a new leaf. He began with an amnesty to the thousands of persons imprisoned or exiled by his predecessor, Gregory XVI. He then appointed a Committee to draw up a programme of liberal reforms, and summoned a Council of State which included several laymen (April 1847). These measures won him immense popularity throughout Italy, and caused Metternich to remark ruefully

¹ Mazzini, the apostle of Italian nationalism, founded "The Society of Italian Youth" (commonly known as "Young Italy") in 1831. Its headquarters were at Marseilles, where many Italian patriots were in exile.

that a Liberal Pope was the one danger which it had never seemed necessary to guard against. Stimulated by the Papal example, and carried away by the enthusiasm it aroused, the Grand Duke of Tuscany also promised a constitution to his subjects. King Ferdinand II of Naples, on the other hand, declined to make any such concession, for he felt that despotism was the only safeguard for a foreign ruler. It was this attitude which provoked the first outburst of revolutionary violence. An insurrection demanding constitutional rule broke out at Palermo. The royal troops—themselves in sympathy with the insurgents—were easily induced to evacuate the city. Within a few weeks the movement had spread all over Sicily, and thence across to the mainland. Ferdinand's nerve gave way when he saw that he could not rely on his soldiers. He promised a constitution and an amnesty, and for a few weeks basked in the unaccustomed sunshine of popularity.

Great was the excitement and rejoicing among Italian patriots; but they had one grave cause of anxiety: would not Austria once more use its vast resources to crush liberalism in the peninsula? And that depended on a further question: What would be the attitude of Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia, who alone of Italian potentates possessed a considerable army? Brave in war but hesitant in council, Charles Albert has been nicknamed the "Hamlet of Savoy." His actions were paralysed by conflicting aims; for he had no faith in democracy and was a strong Catholic, yet the dearest wish of his heart was to thrust the Hapsburgs out of Italy—and the Hapsburgs were the great upholders of Catholicism and authority. But he realised that Italian patriots would never take him as their leader against Austria as long as he maintained an absolutist régime in his own dominions, and the crisis which had now arisen forced him to take the plunge. In March 1848 he brought into force a parliamentary system like that of England.

Then came astounding news from Vienna. Metternich, the incarnation of absolutism, had been overthrown and driven into ignominious flight, and the Imperial Government had

been stampeded into promising a parliament for the whole Austrian Empire!

At once the suppressed liberalism of Lombardy-Venetia boiled over with irresistible enthusiasm. At Venice there was no bloodshed—the Austrian officials capitulated and departed without resistance. In Milan, on the other hand, there were five days of severe street-fighting before Marshal Radetsky and his garrison were driven out. The Hapsburg Dukes were expelled from Parma and Modena, and by the end of March all the eight Italian states were under constitutional governments.

All eyes now turned to Turin. Would Charles Albert venture to challenge Austria on behalf of Italian liberties? He felt less hesitation about this than he had felt about granting a constitution, and responded to the call of his people by declaring war on Austria in the name of Italian brotherhood. All Italy thrilled with the feeling that the hour of deliverance had come. Contingents marched to his support from Rome, Naples and Florence; thousands of exiles—among them the famous GARIBALDI—came flocking back to strike a blow for their beloved land. Early in April the King led his army across the Mincio, and within six weeks he had overrun Lombardy and had captured Peschiera, one of the famous “Quadrilateral” of fortresses which guarded the passes through the Alps from Austria. Lombardy, Venetia, Parma and Modena all declared in favour of annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia. The triumph of Italian liberalism seemed assured.

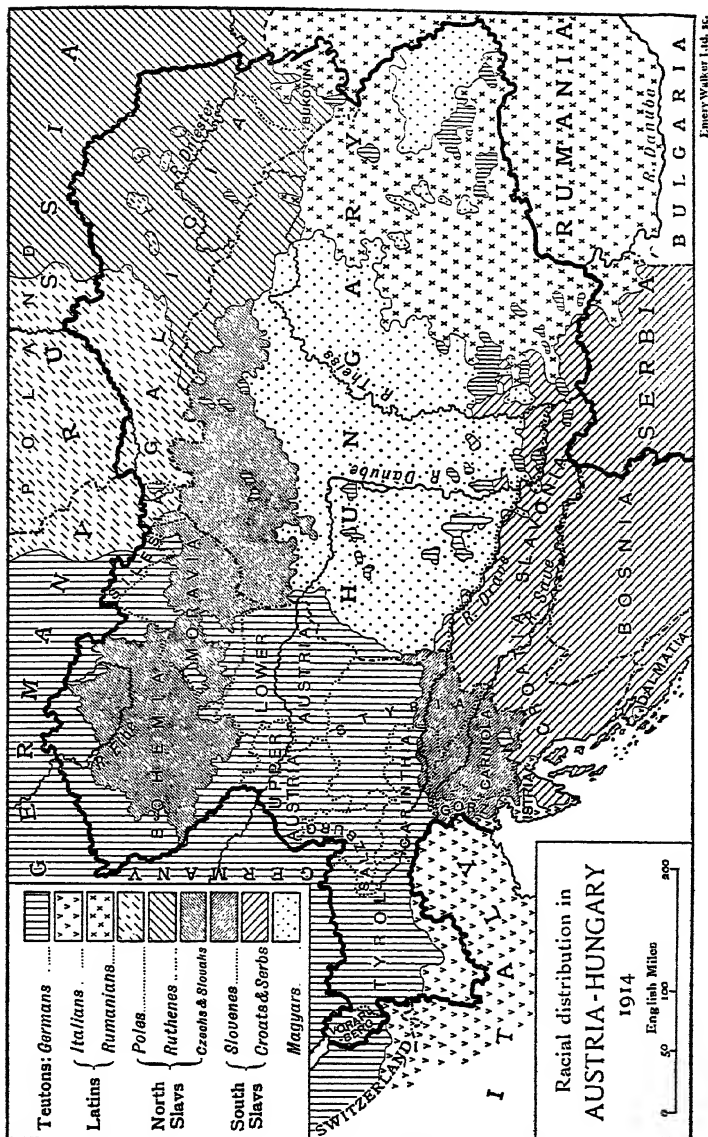
§ 120. THE REVOLUTIONS IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.—We must now turn back to see what had led up to the flight of Metternich from Vienna.

It was not surprising that the twin forces of nationalism and constitutionalism should have a disruptive effect on “the ramshackle empire”—the wonder was that Metternich had managed to suppress them for so long. Here was a state with a German core surrounded by Magyars, Czechs, Poles, Serbs,

Ruthenes, Rumanians and Italians—peoples who differed in race, speech and religion, and were bound together by no tie save subjection to the Hapsburgs. Moreover, the social system was hopelessly out of date. Feudal privilege, long since swept away in western Europe, was still in full force there. The nobles were exempt from taxation, they had a monopoly of the high posts in army and government, they kept order and did justice on their estates like medieval barons. Yet another source of weakness was the decrepit governmental system. There was no co-ordination between the various departments; no proper accounts were kept; the state was always on the verge of bankruptcy; all was slackness and confusion. The Emperor Francis I (1792–1835) had kept some sort of control, but his successor Ferdinand was weak-minded to the verge of imbecility. As for the famous Chancellor, he was now growing too old to keep his former grip. Despotism may justify itself as long as it is efficient, but when it becomes slack and muddled its days are numbered.

It was in Hungary that the Imperial authority was first openly challenged. Since 1830 the Diet at Pressburg (a mere assembly of notables with no control over the Government) had been demanding the use of Magyar in place of Latin as the official language, and the employment of Hungarians in the administration; and an enlightened minority had begun to call for the abolition of feudalism and the election of a national Hungarian Parliament. The leader of this reformist party was Louis KOSSUTH (N51), who kept the spirit of opposition burning year after year by his orations in the Diet and his writings in his journal, the *Pesti Hirlap*. The news of the February Revolution in Paris inspired him to make a famous speech in the Diet, in which he denounced Vienna as a “charnel-house,” the pestilential breath of which paralysed and deadened the national spirit of Hungary. Carried away by his burning words, the Diet voted an address to the Emperor, demanding a separate constitutional government for their country.

A week later their example was followed by the Bohemian



(N.B.—Bosnia was not annexed until 1908.)

Diet at Prague. Thence the revolutionary spirit spread to Vienna itself. Despite Metternich's censorship, educated people in Austria had long been growing aware of their backwardness. Liberal ideals were sometimes advocated even in the Diet, which in Austria, as in other parts of the Empire, consisted almost exclusively of nobles. With revolution so much in the air, its meeting in March 1848 was eagerly awaited; and when it failed to act promptly a mob of students and artisans invaded its hall, shouted inflammatory quotations from Kossuth's speech at Pressburg, and insisted on the deputies accompanying them up to the Hofburg (the Imperial residence). The Emperor was so alarmed that he was ready to promise anything and everything to get rid of his unwelcome visitors; but on the following days street-fighting broke out between populace and troops, and fresh "deputations" surged up to the palace.

Metternich well knew that he personified all that the rioters most detested, and advancing age had robbed him of the spirit to brave the storm. He resigned the Chancellorship, and a day or two later was ignominiously smuggled out of Vienna in a laundry-cart. To the liberals of Europe his exit had much the same effect as the Taking of the Bastille in 1789 (§ 8). Both the Bastille and the Chancellor had outlived their real importance; but their fall seemed to typify the end of an epoch.

We have already noted how the overthrow of Metternich inspired the Lombards to revolt; and their insurrection reacted in turn on the situation in Austria, for it prevented the Imperial Government from taking any effective steps to master the malcontents of Vienna, Pressburg or Prague. The new Ministry hastily promised all that the insurgents demanded—a National Guard, the Freedom of the Press, and a Democratic Constitution to be drafted by representatives from all parts of the Empire. At Pressburg, Kossuth carried the famous MARCH LAWS, abolishing feudalism, and setting up a national Hungarian Government under the Hapsburg monarchy, with Count Batthyany as Prime Minister. These proposals were accepted without demur by the panic-stricken Emperor; and so were

similar demands from Bohemia. The Austrian Empire seemed to be falling to pieces.

§ 121. REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.—Similar events were taking place in Germany. There nationalism took the form of a desire for unity, instead of a desire for separation as in the Austrian Empire. We have seen how the Confederation set up in 1815 had disappointed the deep-seated yearning of the German people to "belong together" (N₄₁). That passion, coupled with a demand for parliamentary government, had long been simmering, in spite of Metternich's "Carlsbad Decrees" (§ 90); and the news of the February Revolution had as stimulating an effect on German liberals as on those of Italy and Austria. Within a few weeks a complete transformation had taken place in the government of nearly all the minor states—reactionary ministries were overthrown and constitutional reforms set on foot. A self-chosen gathering of reformers met at Heidelberg and summoned a *Vor-Parlament*, or preliminary convention, elected from all parts of Germany, to decide on a new Federal Constitution. Most of the new liberal governments welcomed the plan; but everything really depended on the attitude of Prussia, which was greater and more populous than all the other states combined.

The King, Frederick William IV, was a well-meaning but weak-willed sentimentalist. He had long been intending to make some concession to constitutionalism and "Pan-Germanism"; but these impulses had hitherto been checked by the ingrained absolutist traditions of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and by the influence of Metternich. The fall of the Orleans monarchy, followed by that of Metternich, frightened him into immediate action. He announced the abolition of the censorship and the establishment of parliamentary government for all the Prussian dominions. When the Berlin populace heard this, a crowd gathered outside the palace, partly to congratulate the King on the concessions, and partly to gain confirmation of them. A chance shot by one of the guards killed a civilian;

whereupon the crowd lost its temper and began a street fight in which barricades were thrown up and a score of lives were lost. Frederick William was overcome with grief at the untoward turn of events, and the effect of it on his sensitive and unstable mind was to make him surrender to the demands of the liberals more completely than ever. He saluted the corpses of the citizens who had been slain by his guards, and rode in procession through the streets wearing the colours of the nationalist movement—red, black and yellow. In the course of his ride he announced to the populace that he would give whole-hearted support to the scheme for a Pan-German constitution ; henceforth, he said, Prussia should be merged in Germany.

Thus by the end of March the revolution was as triumphant in Germany as in Italy and the Austrian Empire.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GREAT REACTION

1848-1849

§ 122. THE GENERAL CAUSES OF THE BREAK-DOWN.—The great revolutionary current of 1848 swept along with such headlong swiftness that it reached its high-water mark within six weeks. Between the beginning of March and the middle of April the *Vor-Parlament* had made arrangements for a great Pan-German National Assembly to meet at Frankfort ; the Emperor had granted constitutions to Austria, Hungary and Bohemia ; each of the Italian states had set up constitutional governments ; and Charles Albert had penned Radetsky in the Quadrilateral (§ 119). Then the tide turned—mainly through divided aims and errors of judgment in the leaders of the movement. Mostly middle-class intellectuals, they were intelligent, well-meaning

and patriotic, but had no political experience. The destructive part of their task—the overthrow of the old régime—had been so amazingly swift and complete that they underestimated the difficulties of the constructive part—the establishment of national and democratic forms of government. In this they had to meet the opposition not only of the old ruling-class who hated all revolution, but also that of the working-class radicals who demanded more of it. Furthermore, nationalist enthusiasm is two-edged: those who feel its urge most strongly are just those most eager to repress it in peoples who they feel ought to be subject to them. It was this discord between revolutionaries of different classes and different races that gave the authorities the opportunity to crush the whole movement.

§ 123. THE REACTION IN ITALY.—The Pope began it. Pius IX was ready to grant a certain amount of constitutional freedom to his subjects, but he felt that the head of the Catholic Church must hold himself above national “patriotism,” and he was dismayed at finding himself pushed by it into a war against the greatest of Catholic potentates. On 29th April (1848) he issued an ALLOCUTION to the Cardinals, saying that war was abhorrent to a Pope “who loved with equal affection all peoples, races and nations.” That was the end of his popularity with the Italian patriots—and it was the beginning of the end of their success, too. For although public opinion prevented Pius from recalling the Papal troops already on their way to join Charles Albert, his defection discouraged and perplexed the whole nationalist movement.

Its first defeat came where it had gained its first victory—in Naples. A dispute arose over a detail in the proposed Constitution. Ferdinand, timorous as ever, was about to give way when a chance conflict in the streets enabled the troops to gain the upper hand, and Ferdinand found himself, to his own astounded delight, master of the situation again. He dissolved the Parliament before it met, and nothing more was heard of the Constitution of Naples. He afterwards reduced the last

stronghold of liberalism in his dominions—Messina—by a ruthless bombardment which earned him the nickname of “King Bomba”; and he savagely persecuted all who had taken any part in the movement before which he had quailed so ignominiously.

Then followed disaster in the north. The Austrian Government, demoralised by the flight of Metternich and by the revolutions in Milan, Venice, Vienna, Pressburg and Prague, had tried to come to terms with the victorious Charles Albert. Despite the protests of Marshal Radetsky, who assured them that the Italian movement would fall to pieces if only they would stand firm, they offered to surrender Lombardy, provided they might keep Venetia. But the Italians refused to desert their Venetian compatriots, and the war continued. Nevertheless, Charles Albert was hampered by divisions in his composite army, and by doubts in his own mind. As a devout Catholic his spirits were dashed by the Papal Allocution; and as a monarchist he was perturbed by the support of men like Garibaldi and Mazzini, who were known to be aiming at a republic. And while he was losing precious weeks in hesitant inaction, Radetsky was reorganising his army and drawing reinforcements from Austria. For the liberals who now held sway in Vienna had no fellow-feeling for the liberals of Italy—they were determined that Lombardy-Venetia should remain an Austrian possession. The result was the battle of CUSTOZZA (July 1848), when the Sardinian troops were driven back into Piedmont, leaving the luckless Lombards to the mercy of their old oppressors.

§ 124. THE REACTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.—A few days before Custozza the revolutionary movement had received its first check on the north of the Alps also; and this, too, was mainly owing to racial rivalries among the revolutionaries. In Bohemia there had never been any love lost between the working-class Czechs and the *bourgeois* German element of the population. The latter had taken a leading part in extorting constitutional

government from the Emperor, but they wanted Bohemia to remain within the "Greater Germany" that was being remodelled at Frankfort. As a counter-move to the Pan-German movement the Czechs organised a Pan-Slav Congress at Prague, to which representatives came from Moravia, Poland, Ruthenia and Croatia. But it was paralysed by the language difficulty, and could do little beyond exchanging fraternal greetings—in German, the only tongue the delegates all understood!

Unfortunately the mere presence of the Congress in Prague encouraged the hostility of the Czechs towards the Imperial troops of the garrison, commanded by Count WINDISCHGRÄTZ, who was an unpopular incarnation of Austrian militarism. Street-fighting gave the commander an excuse to withdraw his men from the city and to bombard it into submission with artillery. Slav and Teuton became once more brothers in distress; and to complete their distraction a terrible fire broke out. A few days later Windischgrätz rode in through the ruined streets and announced the indisputable fact that the rebellion was now over.

The German liberals who had captured the Imperial Government at Vienna were as glad to hear of the overthrow of the Bohemian liberals as they had been to hear of the defeat of the Italians. But when they sent a message of congratulation to Windischgrätz his reply must have chilled their ardour. He declined to regard his success as the triumph of Teuton over Slav—he had merely subdued a rebellion, he said. This was a broad hint that the Austrians might share the fate of the Bohemians if they went too far; and it was not long before the veiled threat was fulfilled.

At Vienna racial jealousies were as fatal to the liberals as at Prague. The Emperor had granted them their heart's desire—a parliament elected by universal suffrage; but the result of the elections gave them a shock, for a substantial majority of the deputies were Slavs. Democracy did not seem so sacred to them if it involved the loss of Teutonic ascendancy among the

racers of the Empire ! So they reduced the proceedings of the Reichsrath to a scrimmage, and intimidated the Slav deputies by personal violence in the streets. The result was that both the Emperor and the Slavs fled from the city. Then Windischgrätz appeared on the scene and did unto Vienna even as he had done unto Prague. Seeing that the Imperial Government had lost control of the situation, he took the law into his own hands. The Austrian liberals put up a stouter resistance than the Bohemians had done, and the Hungarians sent an army to support them ; but within ten days he had overcome all resistance. A reactionary ministry was formed under SCHWARTZENBERG, a sort of miniature Metternich ; and another of the revolutionary movements of 1848 had come to an untimely end.

§ 125. THE WAR OF HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE.—For a time it seemed as if the Hungarians would be more successful ; but yet again did racial pride cause its own undoing. For when their Slav subjects — especially Serbs and Croats — made similar claims to national independence, Kossuth and his friends scornfully rejected them. The Emperor widened the breach by appointing a fiercely anti-Magyar noble named JELLACHICH as “ Ban ” or viceroy of Croatia. Jellachich promptly drove all the Magyar officials out of the province, and convened a Croatian Diet to set up an independent government. The Hungarians complained of this to the Emperor, who formally deposed Jellachich in order to pacify them. But the Ban took no notice, for he had a secret understanding with Ferdinand that the Croats would stand by him rather than submit to the oppression of the Magyars. The result of this was seen when the Hungarians sent an army to support the Austrian liberals against Windischgrätz, as mentioned in the previous section. For Jellachich came with a Croatian army, headed the Hungarians off from Vienna, and defeated them.

Thus, having overcome the revolutionary movement in Bohemia, in Lombardy-Venetia and in Austria itself, the Imperial Government was now able to concentrate on doing

so in Hungary. Schwartzberg began by compelling the Emperor to abdicate in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph, and maintained that Ferdinand's promise of Hungarian independence was not binding on his successor. Kossuth and his colleagues, furious at this breach of faith, refused to recognise Francis Joseph, and took to arms in defence of their "legitimate king," Ferdinand. They put up a magnificent defence under their general, GÖRGEI, despite the fact that the Croats also declared war on them. After several striking victories Kossuth boldly declared Hungary an independent republic, with himself as President (April 1849). Görgei did not approve of this, and the discord between the two leaders crippled the movement. Moreover, the Czar Nicholas, alarmed at the prospect of a nationalist Magyar republic on the frontiers of Poland, also sent an army to the support of the Emperor. The Hungarians were thus crushed between a triangle of forces, and the Austrian generals took a savage vengeance on them after Görgei's surrender at VILAGOS (August 1849).

§ 126. THE DEFENCE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—In Italy the final overthrow of the liberal movement was due rather to political than to racial disunion. Men like Garibaldi and Mazzini, who were republicans at heart, were by no means downcast at the defeat of Charles Albert at Custozza. "The war of kings being over, the war of the people will now begin," said Mazzini; and Garibaldi withdrew with his followers to the Alpine foothills, to harry the hated "*Tedeschi*" by the *guerrilla* tactics in which he was supreme.

The hopes of the patriots were now centred in Rome and Venice. During November 1848 a crisis was precipitated in Rome owing to the assassination of Rossi, the Pope's Liberal Prime Minister, by a republican fanatic. Pius IX fled in alarm to Gaeta, on Neapolitan territory; and for a time the republicans had matters all their own way. They set up a state in which Mazzini played the chief part; and volunteers (including many foreign sympathisers) flocked in to defend the Republic

against the reactionary forces that were certain soon to attack it. A similar movement in Venice led to the establishment of the "Republic of St. Mark" under Manin.

When the attack on the Roman Republic came, it was from an unexpected quarter. Louis Napoleon, who had just been elected President of the Second Republic in France, had in early life been a *carbonaro* (§ 91); he still professed to be a republican, and nationalism was always an essential article of the Bonapartist creed. But he was anxious to keep the support of the strong clerical party to which he owed his election (§ 115); and he saw with alarm the glory that Austria would gain from restoring the Pope. So he decided to do the thing himself, reckoning that he would at the same time be able to do liberalism a good turn by inducing the Pope (as the price of his support) to set up a permanent constitution. General Oudinot, the commander of the French expedition which was sent to Rome, was instructed to assure the republicans that his sole aim was to save them from the horrors of an absolutist restoration by the Austrians. But the republicans, who had recently been stiffened by the arrival of Garibaldi and his redshirts, refused to restore the Pope on any terms; and they put up such a stout resistance that Oudinot had to withdraw from the city and send home for reinforcements.

Meanwhile the parliament at Turin determined on another effort against the Austrians, and Charles Albert once more led his troops into Lombardy. The result was the overwhelming defeat of NOVARA (March 1849). The King, hoping that Austria would grant milder terms if he were out of the way, abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, and retired to Portugal, where he died six months later, a broken-hearted man.

The check to Oudinot altered the attitude of the French nation towards the Roman Republic: such a stain on the national "honour" could only be wiped out by the total overthrow of "the enemy." As soon as Oudinot had received his reinforcements he took the city by assault. Garibaldi led

out his "forlorn hope" to support the struggle of the Venetians ; but that Republic also died a premature death. The Pope now re-entered his capital. In the circumstances Louis Napoleon could not extract any adequate guarantees of constitutional reforms ; and the government now set up in the Papal Domains, though not so harsh and obscurantist as that of Gregory XVI, was very far indeed from being " liberal."

Thus the reaction gained a new lease of life in Italy. The one ray of hope on the horizon was the fact that the young King Victor Emmanuel II refused to withdraw the constitution which his father had given to Piedmont, despite the pressure brought to bear on him by Austria. This was an assurance that when the time came to renew the struggle, Italy would have a royal leader sincerely pledged to constitutional rule.

§ 127. THE COLLAPSE OF THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT.—There was something of lofty tragedy about the break-down of the nationalist movement in the Austrian Empire and in Italy ; but in Germany it was merely ludicrous. The lawyers and professors who met at Frankfort to devise a new Federal Constitution had no experience of getting things done in a parliament. They spent the first six weeks in designing a Provisional Government, with an Austrian Archduke as *Reichsverweser*, or "Imperial Vicar." Then they debated learnedly and eloquently for three months on "the fundamental rights of all Germans." Meanwhile two urgent problems were awaiting solution : (1) What was to be the relationship between Austria and Prussia in the new state ? And (2) Were the non-German possessions of those two Powers to be included in it ? The delegates' only chance of controlling these issues was to get them settled before the two Governments had recovered from the revolutions. But by the time the Frankfort Parliament came to deal with them the Emperor had regained mastery over his rebellious subjects, and the King of Prussia had gone back on the liberal sentiments he had expressed so emotionally in March (§ 121). Moreover, a fatal weakness had

become apparent in the position of the Parliament itself—the fact that it had no power to enforce its decisions. In a dispute over the Danish Duchies, Schleswig-Holstein, it could only tamely “authorise” the King of Prussia to do what he had actually done for his own interests some time before.

Then Schwartzenberg announced that Austria would insist on all her dominions, including Hungary and Croatia, being included in the proposed *Reich*. This would enable the Hapsburgs to dominate it. Rather than that, the Parliament decided to exclude Austria altogether, and offered the new Imperial German Crown to the King of Prussia. But Frederick William IV declined the offer, with the rather rude remark that he “would not stoop to pick a crown out of the gutter.” The reasons prompting him to this “great refusal” were many and varied. For one thing he believed in Divine Right, and felt that it would be beneath his dignity to hold authority conferred by an elected body. Secondly, Austria had contrived that the majority by which the offer was made should be so small that trouble with the smaller states was foreshadowed. Thirdly, acceptance would have led to friction—perhaps to war—with Austria, and Frederick William felt a sort of mystic awe for what had once been “The Holy Roman Empire.” Lastly, the Czar, who had already reproved him for coquetting with “liberalism,” now hinted that in such a conflict he would back up Austria.

The Parliament was nonplussed. Their year of eloquence had been wasted. Nobody could think what to do next; so the delegates gradually ceased to attend its sessions, and it faded away into thin air.

Frederick William still felt bound by his promise to grant Prussia a constitution; but the system which he set up in 1850 was artfully contrived to prevent the masses from having any real voting-power (N52). He also continued for a time to cherish hopes of an Imperial Crown, and brought forward a scheme for a confederacy of the princes under his own supremacy. But this threatened the time-honoured paramouncy

of the Hapsburgs, and Schwartzenberg peremptorily insisted upon the plan being dropped. For a few weeks war was threatened ; but Frederick William's spirit failed him, and at the Conference of OLMÜTZ he consented to Schwartzenberg's demand that the rusty old machinery of the Federal Diet of 1815 (N41) should be set going again.

CHAPTER XXIX

BONAPARTISM AND THE EASTERN QUESTION

1853-1857

§ 128. "NAPOLÉON LE PETIT."—The character of the Second Empire was coloured by the fact that Napoleon III was "a crowned adventurer." He had many qualifications for the rôle, for he was a mixture of brooding dreamer, cunning conspirator and bold gambler. Despite his unromantic appearance, he had an innate distinction of manner and personal charm. With a generous memory for services rendered, he knew how to forget past injuries. His dogged faith in his "star"—that it was his destiny to rule France—never wavered through the long years of exile, ridicule and imprisonment ; and his belief that France needed "Bonapartism" was perfectly sincere. But he could never shake off the effects of the violence and trickery by which he had gained his throne, and he was always dependent on the shady adventurers who had been his fellow-conspirators in the *coup d'état*.

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown"—especially that of a plebiscitary dictator. Napoleon's reign was a long, anxious struggle to reconcile the contradictions into which *Les Idées Napoléoniennes* (§ 116) involved him. For the Second Empire, like the First, was a queer combination of autocracy and democracy. The most essential article of Bonapartism was public

order and security, and the plebiscites had shown how fervently France desired these blessings. Thus, though a lover of liberty and a kind-hearted man, he had to suppress every sign of disorder with a heavy and often indiscriminating hand. No one was allowed to utter, in the Press or in public meetings, or even in private conversation, anything that could possibly bring discredit on the Government. The outward forms of universal suffrage were kept up; but the Emperor put forward his own candidates, who had all their expenses paid; and the elections were managed by officials whose livelihood depended on their capacity to obtain the desired results.

Yet if this was despotism, it was enlightened despotism. Manufactures were effectively encouraged and commerce energetically developed. Great public works were undertaken—roads, canals, sewers, gas-lamps, hospitals and harbours. Paris was re-planned, slums pulled down, open spaces cleared, boulevards constructed; and the French capital took the place hitherto held by Vienna as the centre of European fashion and gaiety. Nevertheless the Imperial régime was not popular there. Its main support was always the peasantry, who felt that it was their bulwark against Socialism; the Parisians never forgave Napoleon for the massacre of 4th December.

His foreign policy was equally self-contradictory. He was a declared votary of nationalism, and aimed at tearing up the treaties of 1815 which had so flagrantly violated that principle; but he had to veil all this lest he should give offence to the reactionary Powers which already distrusted him as a Bonaparte and scorned him as a *parvenu*. Moreover, nationalism generally took the form of rebellion against constituted authority, and to support it too actively would offend the Catholic and Conservative party which had done so much to raise him to power (§ 115); and that party was now strengthened by the passionate adherence of EUGÉNIE, the beautiful Spanish lady whom he had recently made his Empress.

A third complication lay in the fact that he, unlike Napoleon I, was not a trained soldier, and was by temperament a man of

peace ; whereas if Bonapartism stood for anything it stood for the domination of France over the affairs of Europe by means of military prowess.

§ 129. A NEW PHASE OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.—For forty years there had been no great war—a longer period of peace than Europe had enjoyed for centuries. The Great Exhibition in Hyde Park (1851) was intended to draw the nations still closer together, and Napoleon had at the outset of his reign declared "*L'Empire c'est la paix.*" Yet two years later Europe was once more convulsed by war.

The underlying cause of it was a revival of the "Eastern Question" (§ 96). The Sultan was still misgoverning his Balkan provinces and they were always on the verge of rebellion. It seemed as if the Ottoman Empire could not hold together much longer. More than once Czar Nicholas had drawn the attention of the British Government to the danger of this state of affairs, and had suggested that the Balkan peoples should become independent under his protection, while Britain annexed Egypt or Crete. But fear and hatred of Russia had already become an obsession with the British people, and they regarded the Czar's recent intervention against the Hungarians (§ 125) as the act of a brutal tyrant. So his advances were coldly rejected—in fact, they were regarded as further evidence of designs which would culminate in an attack on India.

Nicholas was also on bad terms with France. Disputes had arisen about the guardianship of the Holy Places at Jerusalem between Greek monks supported by the Czar (the official protector of the Orthodox Church) and Latin monks supported by Napoleon (who posed as the champion of Catholicism). Furthermore, Napoleon had a personal grudge against Nicholas, who had haughtily refused to treat him as an equal.

As Nicholas could not get Britain to agree to the suggestion of partition, he reverted to his earlier policy of gaining a general control over the Sultan (§ 109). The old Treaty of Kutchuk (1774) had given Russia a vaguely-worded claim to intervene

with the Sultan on behalf of the Balkan Christians, and in 1853 Nicholas sent Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople to demand an explicit recognition of this right. The British ambassador there, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was strongly imbued with the anti-Russian feeling we have just mentioned, and he privately urged the Sultan to reject these demands. Thereupon Nicholas enforced them by sending troops to occupy the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), which were still nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. The other Great Powers conferred at Vienna and sent a "Note" to both parties suggesting terms of settlement; but whereas the Czar accepted these terms as they stood, the Sultan (still under the influence of Stratford) insisted on certain amendments. When Nicholas rejected these Turkey declared war (October 1853).

It was essential to Napoleon's position that he should play a striking part in European affairs; and he was particularly keen to be on good terms with Britain. Lord Aberdeen, the British Prime Minister, though devoted to the cause of peace, found it impossible to hold out against the anti-Russian spirit in the nation and in some of his colleagues—notably Lord Palmerston; and he had to make concessions to it lest he should be turned out of office and replaced by a minister who would go to war at once. So the two Powers sent a combined fleet through the Dardanelles to prevent the Czar from breaking up the Ottoman Empire by capturing Constantinople. Shortly afterwards the Russian Black Sea fleet destroyed the Turkish navy in the Bay of Sinope. Public opinion in France and Britain was in such an advanced stage of Russophobia that this perfectly legitimate act of war was regarded as a deliberate affront to the allied fleet. "Thank God, that means war!" exclaimed Stratford when he heard of it. To counterbalance the advantages which Russia had gained from the seizure of the Principalities and the destruction of Turkish naval power, the Franco-British fleet now entered the Black Sea and "invited" the Russian fleet to return to its base, Sebastopol. A declaration of war naturally followed.

§ 130. THE CRIMEAN WAR.—After some months of indecisive warfare in Silistria and the Baltic, the Allies decided on an expedition against Sebastopol. A combined force of 50,000 men landed to the north of the port under Marshal St. Arnaud (one of the conspirators of the *coup d'état*) and Lord Raglan (a veteran of the Peninsular War). When the Russians tried to obstruct its southward march at the River ALMA (September 1854), they were driven back into Sebastopol. The Allies might have taken the place at once if they had assaulted it promptly; but more cautious counsels prevailed, and they marched round to the south side, where it was supposed to be more open to attack. By the time they had established themselves there with supply-bases on the coast, Todleben, the Russian commander, had so strengthened the defences that they had to begin what was destined to become one of the most famous sieges in all history.

They had to contend with many difficulties. The Russians sank their fleet across the mouth of the harbour, which prevented warships from getting near enough to bombard the town. Moreover, their forces were never numerous enough for a complete investment, and the defenders were repeatedly revictualled and reinforced, despite the wide expanse of steppe land over which all Russian supplies had to be brought. The British Army, on the right of the Allied line, had to bear the brunt of the attacks of the Russian field-force under Mentchikoff, which was only repelled after desperate fighting at INKERMAN and BALAKLAVA (October-November 1854). The Allies had not come prepared for a winter campaign, their commissariat and hospital arrangements broke down, and thousands of soldiers died from exposure, starvation and disease. This was the first war since the invention of telegraphy, and English newspapers were filled with such harrowing accounts of the sufferings of the troops that the Aberdeen Government was driven from office to make way for one led by Palmerston.

By the beginning of 1855 the position was a stalemate :

transport difficulties hindered the Russians from relieving Sebastopol and the Allies from capturing it. The tedium of the inactive months that followed was relieved by three noteworthy events. The first was the arrival of a small but well-found contingent of Piedmontese troops to support the Allies ; the second was the death of Nicholas I, as much from grief and disappointment as from disease ; and the third was another conference of the Powers at Vienna to seek acceptable peace-terms. The new Czar, ALEXANDER II, was ready to agree to all the demands of the Allies save one—that he should keep no warships on the Black Sea. The British Government insisted on this, so the Conference broke down (May 1855). As a matter of fact, Palmerston was throwing himself into the war with such zest, and was so confident of beating the Russians, that it is doubtful if he really entered upon the negotiations with any very keen desire to come to terms.

Throughout the war Austria and Prussia “sat on the fence.” Both were anxious that the navigation of the Lower Danube should be freed from Russian control ; but when (after the first three months of the war) the Russians evacuated the Principalities, neither of the Germanic Powers would back up the Allies any further. Frederick William was horrified at the thought of fighting alongside Turkish “unbelievers.” As for Austria, the Czar felt that he had strong claims on Francis Joseph, after his services at the time of the Hungarian revolt ; but the Emperor dared not go to war with the Western Powers, particularly in view of the latent hostility of Prussia towards Austria.

In June (1855) the Allies made an unsuccessful attack on two Russian redoubts which lay between their trenches and the city. But the situation of the defenders was fast becoming desperate, especially after the destruction of their supply-base at Kertsch. When in August their last sortie was defeated on the River Tchernaya (mainly by the Piedmontese), the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. A second attack on the redoubts in September ended with the French in possession of the Malakoff,

though the British failed to hold the Redan. During the following night the Russians evacuated Sebastopol, leaving behind them a mere mass of smoking ruins.

§ 131. THE TREATY OF PARIS.—Obviously this was hardly the situation with which Lord Palmerston would like his war to end; but the bellicose spirit was fast dying out in Britain. It was difficult to see what we had to gain by prolonging the war. The new Czar had shown himself ready to agree to any reasonable terms. Moreover, after the fall of Sebastopol the question naturally arose: What was to be our next move? Another march on Moscow? The very name made Napoleon shiver. He had attained all the objects with which he had entered upon the war. The position of France in Europe had been reasserted; the slights of Czar Nicholas had been avenged; the glory of the French eagles had been restored. He now saw a chance to gain as much national and personal prestige by making peace as he had gained by making war. He would invite all the Powers to an elaborate Peace Conference in Paris. His newly adorned capital would be a scene of international festivities, with himself as host and central figure. Nobody could fail to appreciate the difference between the circumstances of this and those of the last Peace Conference held in Paris (§ 84); and all Frenchmen would appreciate how much the Second Empire had done for their country.

Everything went according to plan. Palmerston was obliged to give way lest Britain should be left to carry on the struggle single-handed. The Czar was ready to agree to almost anything; for of the 600,000 casualties in the war, five-sixths were Russian, and his finances were exhausted. Moreover, Austria now threatened him with war if he did not accept the terms offered.

Nevertheless, the PEACE OF PARIS (1856) was about the most lame and impotent conclusion to a great war that history tells of. Britain gained less than nothing from it; for included in the treaty was a revision of the international law governing the

"Right of Search," which restricted the powers of the British Navy to interfere with neutral shipping in time of war. Russia surrendered her claim to protect the Balkan Christians, while the Sultan undertook to give them equal rights with his Moslem subjects—a promise which he never even tried to carry out. The neutrality of the Black Sea, for the sake of which Palmerston had prolonged the war for a year, did not last beyond 1870; while the status assigned to the Danubian Provinces endured an even shorter time, for in 1861 they joined together to form the Principality of Rumania (N57). And within twenty years the Eastern Question was again troubling the peace of Europe.

CHAPTER XXX

THE MAKING OF ITALY

1858-1861

§ 132. CAVOUR AND HIS SCHEMES.—After the collapse of the revolutions of 1848, the rulers of Italy returned to their evil ways. Ferdinand of Naples took such a savage vengeance on the liberals that Gladstone, after visiting the Neapolitan prisons in 1851, wrote a "Public Letter to Lord Aberdeen" in which he described "Bomba's" régime as "the negation of God erected into a system of government." There were so many exceptions to Pius IX's amnesty that it was more like a proscription; while in Lombardy-Venetia, Radetsky ruled as a military dictator, with plentiful shootings and floggings.

The greatest hope of the Italian patriots lay in the fact that King Victor Emmanuel resolutely maintained constitutional rule in Piedmont (§ 126). He had no great intellectual gifts, and his private life was far from exemplary; but his plain, vigorous common sense and his steadfast devotion to the cause of Italy enabled him to play a vital part in the drama about to

be unfolded. His kingdom became an asylum for political refugees from the other provinces; and the feeling grew stronger as the years went by that the ultimate deliverance of Italy would come from this direction.

That hope was intensified when the King took as chief minister Count Camillo CAVOUR (1852), for Cavour proved himself one of the ablest statesmen of modern times. All his thoughts and energies were concentrated on one object—to expel Austria from Italy as the first step towards uniting the peninsula under his master's rule. He laboured unceasingly to improve the financial and military resources of the little kingdom, by encouraging agriculture, by constructing railways, by making tariff agreements, and by confiscating the wealth of the monasteries for the benefit of the state. But the bitter experience of 1848 had shown that Sardinia could not prevail against the tremendous resources of the Austrian Empire without the help of some great foreign Power, and Cavour's main achievement was the winning of this support. He laid the foundation of his policy in connection with the Crimean War. France and England were annoyed with Austria for backing out of that enterprise; if Sardinia supported them she would have a claim (at the expense of her enemy) on those two "Liberal Powers." He therefore declared war on Russia and sent a Sardinian contingent to the Crimea, where it impressed everybody with its efficiency and courage. Cavour had thus gained the right to appear at the Peace Conference, and he took the opportunity to draw attention to the woes of Italy and to attack Austria as the cause of them. Henceforth Sardinia stood forth in the eyes of the world as the champion of the Italian nation against oppression. The Austrian Government was forced to make some concessions to public opinion. Francis Joseph granted an amnesty and sent the most amiable of his brothers—the Archduke Maximilian—as viceroy. But Italian patriots did not want Austria to mend her ways: they wanted her to go.

Cavour reaped the fruits of his foresight a few years later in

the PACT OF PLOMBIÈRES. Napoleon III had always sympathised with Italian nationalism (§ 126). Hitherto his impulses in this direction had been checked by his dependence on the "clerical party," which feared that the unification of Italy would deprive the Papacy of its domains. But in January 1858 an Italian named Orsini flung a bomb at the Emperor's carriage as a protest against his failure to redeem his promise to "do something for Italy." For once in a way a political assassination achieved its purpose. Napoleon was impressed by the adjurations which Orsini addressed to him from the condemned cell; and a few months later he had a secret interview with Cavour at Plombières. He promised that if Sardinia went to war with Austria during the next twelve months he would support her with a French army until Italy was "freed to the Adriatic." Victor Emmanuel was to annex Lombardy and Venetia, and to cede Savoy and Nice to Napoleon in return for his services; while the smaller provinces were to be formed into a kingdom of Central Italy, possibly under Napoleon's nephew. The Italian states were then to be formed into a loose confederacy, with the Pope as a sort of president. Savoy and Nice were a heavy price for Cavour to pay, but it was "a sprat to catch a whale"; while the Emperor hoped that the acquisition would be a set-off to the opposition of the French clericals.

§ 133. SOLFERINO AND VILLAFRANCA.—This Pact was only the first item in a masterpiece of political craft on Cavour's part. He stirred up national enthusiasm throughout Italy while calming Napoleon's dread of Conservative opposition in France. He raised an irregular force of "Alpine Chasseurs" for Garibaldi without disclosing to him that the latter's birth-place (Nice) was to be cut off from Italy. He provoked Austria by attacks in the Press, by special customs duties, and by threatening movements of troops, yet contrived that his adversary should appear as the aggressor in the war which he had planned for the following June.



At first all went swimmingly. Napoleon caused a sensation at a New Year's Day reception by publicly remarking to the Austrian ambassador, "I regret that my relations with your master are not so good as formerly"; and Victor Emmanuel followed this up a few days later by declaring to the Parliament of Turin that he "could not much longer remain deaf to Italy's cries of woe." But then things began to go wrong, and for a harassing month or two it seemed as if the whole scheme would fall through. The Tory Government in England (under Derby and Disraeli) never had much sympathy with Italian nationalism, and made great efforts to prevent the threatened war. The Czar went further, and suggested a European Congress to arrange a permanent solution of Italian problems. Napoleon, perturbed by opposition at home, and alarmed at the attitude of the Powers, began to regret his rashness at Plombières, and joined the British Government in calling upon both Austria and Sardinia to cease the warlike preparations which were already under way.

Cavour was in despair; but he was rescued by the folly of his enemy. The Austrian Government thought to take advantage of the situation to crush Sardinia once for all, and regain its old ascendancy in the Italian peninsula. While itself refusing to disarm, it insultingly demanded that Victor Emmanuel should demobilise his army on pain of immediate invasion; and an order of the day was issued to the Austrian army calling on it "to abase for the third time the conceit of Piedmont and to hunt from their lairs the fanatical subverters of the tranquillity of Europe." A fortnight later Austrian troops crossed the Ticino into Piedmont. This placed Austria so hopelessly in the wrong that Napoleon could no longer hesitate about keeping his promise to Cavour, and he declared war.

The Austrians would have been wise to crush the Sardinians before the French came into the field; but they once again threw away their chances by sheer ineptitude. Their commander Giulay fumbled about until the French arrived to

outflank and defeat him at MAGENTA (4th June). As a result of this battle the Austrians were compelled to evacuate Lombardy, while Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph. Furthermore, the Austrian garrisons had to be withdrawn from the Duchies and Romagna to defend Venetia, with the result that the inhabitants of those provinces rose and proclaimed their union with Piedmont. The Emperor Francis Joseph took over the command of his troops in person ; but while he was wearying them by marching backwards and forwards between two alternative lines of defence, the allies fell upon him at SOLFERINO (24th June). After one of the fiercest battles of the century, the Austrians were forced to retire to the Quadrilateral. The Italians were eagerly following up their victory when they were thunderstruck by the news that Napoleon had signed an armistice with Francis Joseph at VILLAFRANCA (12th July).

There were a variety of considerations impelling him to this course. Unaccustomed to the grim realities of war, his nerve had been shaken by the sights and sounds of the battlefield of Solferino. Moreover, he knew that an attack on the fortresses of the Quadrilateral would certainly entail further heavy losses, and might end in a repulse which would be disastrous for his position in France. Lastly, several of the German states were showing signs of coming to the support of Austria, and Prussia had actually begun to mobilise an army on the Rhine. So without consulting his ally he sent enquiries as to peace terms to Francis Joseph. The two Emperors agreed that Lombardy should be ceded to Victor Emmanuel, but that Venetia should remain under Francis Joseph, while the Duchies were to be restored to their Dukes and the Romagna to the Pope. The details were worked out and the definitive treaty signed at Zürich some months later.

Despite his disappointment, Victor Emmanuel realised that he must bow to necessity in the hope that circumstances would allow of a further advance before long ; but Cavour, overwrought by months of strain and anxiety, was quite thrown off

his balance. He resigned his post, after overwhelming the King with reproaches for consenting to the treaty.

It soon became evident that the war had aroused the national spirit in the Duchies and Romagna so high that the inhabitants would never accept the old absolutist régimes again ; and Napoleon feared that if Austria restored them by force, she would regain her old paramountcy in Italy, and her prestige in Europe would stand higher than ever. From his point of view it would be the lesser of two evils to allow Victor Emmanuel to annex the states in question. He had hitherto been unable to claim Savoy and Nice, inasmuch as he had not fulfilled his undertaking to " free Italy to the Adriatic " ; but he could now demand them in return for supporting Victor Emmanuel in annexing the Duchies and Romagna. So he came to an understanding to this effect with Cavour by the TREATY OF TURIN (March 1860).

Savoy and Nice were more French than Italian in speech and civilisation, and a plebiscite showed that the inhabitants were quite willing to make the change ; but the transaction aroused bitter indignation among Italian patriots. All feelings of gratitude to Napoleon for his services the previous year were obliterated ; and Garibaldi never forgave Cavour for bartering away his birthplace.

§ 134. GARIBALDI AND " THE THOUSAND."—This second act of the great drama had hardly ended when the curtain went up on the third. Garibaldi wanted to lead his redshirts to attack Rome ; but Cavour realised that Napoleon III would not—*could* not—allow the Italian national movement which he had fomented to result in a second expulsion of Pius IX. So the great *guerrilla* leader was with some difficulty persuaded to turn his attention elsewhere. King " Bomba's " successor in Naples, Francis II, carried on the tradition of stupid oppression so thoroughly that in April 1860 his Sicilian subjects rose in rebellion and entreated Garibaldi to come to help them. Cavour and his master could not openly support the enterprise,

for Sardinia was not at war with Naples; but they carefully "looked the other way" while Garibaldi organised his band of volunteers and embarked on two ships in Genoa harbour.

At this point it was fortunate for the movement that Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone had come into power in Britain; for if the members of this "Liberal Triumvirate" were in hearty agreement about little else, they were all keen supporters of the *Risorgimento*. The British Mediterranean squadron ought by international law to have prevented a filibustering attack on a friendly state, but the admiral in command had orders to remain "neutral"; and as a matter of fact the mere presence of British ships in the neighbourhood paralysed the Neapolitan gun-boats while Garibaldi and his Thousand landed at Marsala. His magnetic personality enthralled everybody with whom he came into contact. His ragged enthusiasts defeated a Neapolitan army of twice its strength, and within a few weeks all the island was in his power. Then he led his men over to the mainland, where they were received with frenzied delight by the populace.

Unfortunately, Garibaldi was no statesman. He was still swayed by Mazzini's republican ideas; he detested and distrusted Cavour; he had no desire to see Victor Emmanuel's kingdom enlarged; and he was burning to push on to Rome, regardless of the consequences. Cavour realised that this last enterprise would inevitably bring Napoleon in against the movement; and to prevent it he urged his master to invade the Papal Domains himself so as to be in a position to check Garibaldi. The Sardinian army defeated the Papal troops and pushed on into Neapolitan territory. The people there adored Garibaldi as the warrior-hero of their cause; but they had the sense to see that his republican idealism could not hold together a free and united Italy. In the existing circumstances a monarchy alone could do that; and in Victor Emmanuel they had a candidate for the national throne who had proved his statesmanship and his staunchness to constitutional government. The Neapolitans showed themselves so overwhelmingly in favour of joining the kingdom that Garibaldi

reluctantly gave way. There was an historic meeting at Teano, where Garibaldi addressed Victor Emmanuel as "King of Italy." The Sardinian troops finished off the campaign which the Garibaldini had begun; King Francis was penned in at Capua and eventually driven into exile. Garibaldi refused all honours and rewards, and retired to his little farm on the island of Caprera.

The first Italian Parliament, representing the whole of the peninsula except Rome and Venetia, met at Turin and passed a Bill declaring Victor Emmanuel "King of Italy by the Grace of God and the will of the nation" (March 1861). Three months later Cavour died, worn out by his labours in bringing this event to pass.

CHAPTER XXXI

PRUSSIA *VERSUS* AUSTRIA

1852-1865

§ 135. THE DECLINE OF AUSTRIA.—Ever since the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great (1740) the upstart military kingdom of Prussia had challenged the time-honoured leadership of Austria among German states. For one hundred and twenty years the rivalry had never got so far as an open quarrel, but it now came to a head in a very short but very decisive war.

Closely connected with this question of hegemony was the problem of German unification. When the second half of the nineteenth century began, all hope of a satisfactory solution seemed further off than ever. The labours of the Frankfort Parliament had been brought to nought by the "Great Refusal" of the Prussian King to become a constitutional Emperor of Germany; while Austria had peremptorily vetoed his alternative proposal, and had insisted on the revival of the Confederation created by the Congress of Vienna (§ 127). To

outward appearance Austria emerged from the crisis of 1848-1849 stronger than ever. Whereas Frederick William IV and most of the minor potentates of Germany maintained some form of constitutional government, Francis Joseph returned to autocratic rule undiluted by any trace of democracy. Furthermore, he took advantage of the overthrow of the nationalist movement to renew the attempts at centralisation which had failed so disastrously eighty years before under Joseph II (N4). The separate rights of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary were swept away; and its dependent provinces, Transylvania and Croatia, were brought under the direct rule of the Imperial Government at Vienna. German was made the sole official language in all parts of the Empire, and the administration carried on by Austrian officials. One of the liberal reforms was confirmed—the abolition of serfdom and of feudal rights; but this was advantageous to the Central Power as a check on the independence of the Magyar and Polish nobles.

Nevertheless, the greatness of Austria was an imposing façade with nothing solid behind it; and the time was at hand when her real weakness could no longer be disguised. Her triumph over Prussia at Olmütz (§ 127) was her last success in international politics. We have seen that during the Crimean War Francis Joseph tried to play for safety, but in so doing drew upon himself the contemptuous hostility of both sides (§ 130); and at the Peace Conference of Paris he suffered a further set-back by Cavour's indictment of Austrian misgovernment in Italy (§ 132). Czar Nicholas had been deeply wounded by what he felt to be "black ingratitude," and his successor found an opportunity to avenge it; while Napoleon III vented his annoyance by entering into the Pact of Plombières and the Italian War of Independence. The defeats of Magenta and Solferino were severe blows to Austrian prestige, and a worse followed; for when Prussia came to Austria's aid, Francis Joseph hastened to sacrifice Lombardy by the Peace of Villafranca rather than owe his deliverance to Prussian bayonets. Nor was even this the end of Austrian humiliations

at this juncture ; for in the following year an empty treasury compelled Francis Joseph to look on helplessly while Victor Emmanuel annexed the Duchies and the Romagna in defiance of the terms agreed upon at Villafranca and Zürich (§ 133).

§ 136. PRUSSIA AND HER ARMY.—In Prussia future events were also casting their shadows before—but in a very different direction. In 1857, Frederick William IV became insane, and he died a year or two later. His brother William, who became first Regent and later King, was a frank and simple-minded soldier to whom all political trickery was abhorrent. He had all the Hohenzollern faith in Divine Right, and detested the Constitution set up by his brother in 1850 ; but as long as it was the law of the land he loyally tried to carry it out. He allowed free elections to the Reichstag, and appointed a liberal ministry under Prince Hohenlohe in accordance with the “ Progressive ” majority elected to it.

But he had little interest in the business of government except in so far as it affected the army. In his boyhood he had taken part in the Campaign of France, and his whole outlook on life was coloured by his absorption in soldiering. He seldom appeared out of uniform even in his domestic circle. The task of building up the strength and efficiency of the Prussian army was to him a sacred duty, to which he devoted laborious nights and days. When in 1859 he came to the support of Austria by collecting an army corps on the Rhine (§ 133), the process of mobilisation showed up shortcomings which he had long suspected. The military system invented for Prussia by Scharnhorst during the Napoleonic Wars had become out of date. By that system every able-bodied Prussian was supposed to serve three years with the colours, followed by two years in the Reserve ; after which he was a member of the *Landwehr*, or Second Reserve, for another fourteen years. But since then the population had increased by 50 per cent., while the *cadres* (regimental organisations for training recruits) had

remained stationary. Consequently only two-thirds of those eligible could be called up even when service with the colours was reduced to two years. Furthermore, the mobilisation of 1859 showed that the *Landwehr*—consisting largely of middle-aged men with families—was practically worthless as a fighting force. So King William and von Roon, his War Minister, devised a series of army reforms which involved (a) the formation of thirty-nine new regiments; and (b) service for three years with the colours and four years in the reserve, service in the *Landwehr* being reduced to six years. In effect the army would make better use of its available man-power and its fighting strength would be 400,000 instead of 215,000, without calling upon the *Landwehr* for more than garrison duty.

The difficulty was that the scheme involved increased expense, and for this the Constitution required the consent of the Reichstag. The Progressive majority there reluctantly consented to the formation of the extra regiments, but objected to the three years' service. Eventually the question was shelved for a year, von Roon being meanwhile authorised to proceed with the urgent work of organising the new *cadres*. But a general election sent the Progressives back with an increased majority; for the middle-classes, who had the greatest electoral power, were strongly opposed to militarism. Annoyed by some contemptuous remarks of von Roon, denying their right even to discuss the matter, the new Chamber rejected the Budget which provided for the increased Army Estimates. This meant that the new regiments would have to be disbanded, and that the 2000 young officers already in training would have to be dismissed.

The King (as he now was) found himself in a painful dilemma. He wanted to act constitutionally, but the Hohenlohe Ministry felt that it could not maintain the increased army in defiance of the Reichstag. Von Roon urged him to take the bold step of dismissing Hohenlohe and appointing Otto von BISMARCK as his chief minister. Bismarck was very unpopular as an ultra-monarchist who did not disguise his contempt for

parliamentary rule, and for a time King William hesitated to defy public opinion. When at last Bismarck was summoned to the palace he found the King with a written abdication before him on the table; but before the end of the interview the document was torn up. Bismarck's plan was simple but drastic: to collect the increased taxes in spite of the rejection of the Budget. The issues were now clear and definite. They were much the same as those which led to our own Civil War: Can the sovereign collect taxes without parliamentary sanction? And does the sovereign or parliament control the army? William and Bismarck were perfectly aware of the parallel between their situation and that which had cost Charles I and Strafford their heads; but they were confident that they knew what was best for Prussia, and they were ready to take the risk.

§ 137. "BLOOD AND IRON."—Bismarck was to do so much to shape the destinies of modern Europe that we must take stock of his personality and aims before we go further. By birth, breeding and outlook he was a "Junker"—a Prussian squire. Amidst all the enthusiasm for Pan-Germanism and Constitutionalism in 1848 he had never wavered in his narrow Prussian patriotism, or in his faith in kingly power as essential to the welfare of the Prussian state and people. Above all, he believed in force rather than abstractions. "It is not by speeches and votes that the great questions of the day will be decided," he said on a famous occasion, "but by blood and iron." He had in earlier days looked up to Austria as the mainstay of authoritarian rule; but had latterly come to see that she was intriguing with the smaller states to push Prussia into the background in the Germanic Federation. So Austria, and the Federal Constitution which Austria had insisted on reviving, became in his eyes the chief obstacles to Prussian greatness; and he aimed at forming a new Germanic Federation dominated by Prussia, with Austria outside it altogether. His appointment as chief minister in 1862 gave him an opportunity to carry this policy through; and upon it he now concentrated

all his prodigious energy of will-power, his far-sighted view of political forces, his unscrupulous astuteness in taking advantage of the weakness of human nature, and his dauntless courage and tenacity. He had no prejudices for or against any person, party or country—his only thought was how he could use them for his purpose. Sentimentality in public affairs seemed to him childish folly: "Nobody does anything for nothing," he would say. Convinced that military strength alone could shape the future of Germany, he gave whole-hearted support to the King's plans for forging the weapon which he needed to carve out the destinies of central Europe.

Military reorganisation was a soldier's business, the details of which he had to leave in the hands of von Roon; but in the field of diplomacy his own gifts were supreme, and almost immediately after his appointment he put through a master-stroke of foreign policy.

The hatred of Russian rule in Poland had been crushed out of sight by persecution after the revolt of 1830 (§ 105), but it remained a perpetual source of anxiety to the Czars. The success of the Italians in 1859-1860 excited hopes for a parallel movement in Poland, and the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 embittered the Polish nobles who were robbed of their "property" (N69). In 1863 Alexander II determined to cripple the movement by calling up for military service the young men of the towns, where nationalist sentiment was strongest. This fanned the embers of discontent into a sudden blaze of insurrection. The sympathies of liberals all over Europe were strongly on the insurgents' side, and nowhere was this feeling stronger than in Germany. The Governments of England, France and Austria joined in urging the Czar to give way and restore to the Poles the constitution which had been set aside in 1831. If Prussia had supported the other Powers, Alexander might have been forced to give way. But Bismarck cared nothing about what other Powers were doing, or about public opinion, or about Polish liberties. He saw an opportunity for gaining a powerful friend for Prussia, and he

made the most of it by assuring the Czar of Prussian support and by massing troops on the frontier to prevent the insurgents from taking refuge across it.

§ 138. THE DANISH DUCHIES.—Nevertheless, Bismarck had many difficulties to overcome. Prussia was hated by the lesser German states, and he himself was unpopular even in Prussia ; moreover, King William was instinctively loyal to the tradition that the Hapsburg Emperor was of ancient right the head of the German race.

The situation was now complicated by a crisis in the Danish Duchies. Schleswig and Holstein were a personal possession of the constitutional King of Denmark. The population was mainly German, especially in Holstein ; and as Duke, the King was a member of the Germanic Federation set up in 1815. The reigning Frederick VII had no children, and no prospect of any. The succession to the Duchies, unlike the throne of Denmark, had always been confined to the male line ; and according to this rule the heir to them was the Duke of Augustenburg, while the heir to Denmark was Prince Christian of Glücksburg. To obviate the prospect of a dispute when the King died, the Powers (including Austria and Prussia) had held a conference in London and had drawn up a Protocol (1852) which made Glücksburg heir to the Duchies as well as to the Kingdom, Augustenburg renouncing his claims in consideration of a substantial sum of money.

There was a vigorously patriotic party in Denmark which aimed at including the Duchies in the Kingdom by extending its frontiers to the River Eider ; and under the influence of these " Eider Danes," King Frederick, in March 1863, issued a proclamation incorporating Schleswig and calling upon Holstein to provide a proportion of the Danish revenue. This aroused great indignation throughout Germany. The Diet of the Confederation ordered the King to cancel his manifesto, and when he refused it sent a contingent of Saxon and Hanoverian troops to do " federal execution "—*i.e.* to enforce its

decisions by a military occupation of the Duchies. Just at this juncture King Frederick died (November 1863). Glücksburg succeeded to the Kingdom without question, and announced that he intended to stand by his predecessor's proclamation. But the Augustenburg who had renounced the Duchies in 1852 had been succeeded by a son who refused to be bound by that Act; and as he was German by race and speech his candidature was warmly supported by the Diet (which had not been a party to the Protocol of 1852), and by public opinion throughout Germany.

Bismarck determined to fish in these troubled waters on behalf of Prussia, even though in so doing he ran counter to the Prussian King and people. Sentimental Pan-Germanism made no appeal to him whatever; and the formation of the Duchies into another little German principality to support Austria in the Diet was not at all what he had in mind. His sole aim and object was the aggrandisement of Prussia, and he particularly had his eye on the port of Kiel. He worked on the Emperor's dread of democracy by representing that the enthusiasm for Augustenburg was akin to the nationalist spirit which had inspired the revolutions of 1848, and thus induced him to join Prussia in declaring that the Protocol of 1852 must be enforced. Prussian and Austrian armies were accordingly sent to compel the King of Denmark to restore the independence of the Duchies under his personal rule. The forces of these two great Powers overcame the resistance of the little Danish army, though with considerably more difficulty than had been anticipated (February-April 1864).

At this stage Great Britain called a conference of the Powers at which the Federal Diet as well as Prussia and Austria was represented. Palmerston, in accordance with his predilection for tweaking the noses of foreign potentates, wanted to back up Denmark against her mighty adversaries; but he got no support from Napoleon III, who was hampered by a war in Mexico, or even from Queen Victoria, whose sympathies were always pro-German. The Danish King, buoyed up by hopes

of British support, still refused Bismarck's demand that the Duchies should be kept separate from Denmark; so the conference broke up and the war was resumed. Within a few weeks all was over, and King Christian was forced to agree to the Treaty of Vienna (October 1864), by which he renounced all claim to the Duchies, which were to be administered by Austria and Prussia jointly until those Powers should have decided upon their ultimate destiny.

CHAPTER XXXII

PRUSSIA *VERSUS* AUSTRIA (CONTINUED)

1864-1866

§ 139. "PRUSSIA STRIKES WHEN PRUSSIA'S HOUR HAS STRUCK."—Bismarck had from the first intended to find some way of acquiring the Danish Duchies for Prussia; and he foresaw that the situation there would give rise to the struggle with Austria for which he was preparing. His arrangements were not yet complete, however, so he "papered up the cracks" (to use one of his own forceful metaphors) by the Convention of GASTEIN (August 1865). Since the joint occupation was leading to disputes, the two Powers were to divide the booty, Prussia taking over the administration of Schleswig and Austria that of Holstein.

The joint expedition against Denmark had given von Roon a valuable opportunity of trying out the new army system on a small scale, and of studying the future enemy at close quarters. He now put the finishing touches on the reorganisation of the army, while Bismarck contrived that Prussia should go into the struggle with a useful ally. The Italians were still hungering for Venetia, which they had perforce left in Francis Joseph's hands after the last war (§ 133); but they distrusted Prussia, and Bismarck decided that he must first gain the support of

Napoleon III, who still posed as the patron of Italian nationalism. Napoleon wanted the two great Germanic Powers to continue to cancel each other out by their mutual hostility, and hoped to get some pickings for France out of their quarrel. He therefore welcomed Bismarck's proposal to visit him at Biarritz and talk over the situation. Nobody knows exactly what passed there, but there is little doubt that Napoleon encouraged Bismarck to proceed with his scheme for an onslaught on Austria in conjunction with Italy, and suggested possible cessions of Rhineland territory to France to balance Prussia's gains. Bismarck let him cherish these fancies in order to ensure his "benevolent neutrality" in the coming struggle. By disclosing to the Italians this understanding with France, Bismarck was able to convince them of his sincerity in proposing an alliance, and negotiations were opened. While these were in progress the Austrian Government announced that it would refer the dispute about the Duchies to the Federal Diet (March 1866). King William was deeply offended at this breach of the Gastein agreement. This removed one of Bismarck's greatest difficulties—the old King's reluctance to make war on Austria. He was now able to enter into a definite agreement with Victor Emmanuel by which Italy undertook to invade Venetia if Prussia made war on Austria within three months (8th April).

This was gambling on his own control over the course of events, but his self-confidence was justified. He began by announcing that, since Austria had herself broken the Convention of Gastein, Prussian troops would put down disorders in Holstein which had been provoked by Austrian slackness. Thereupon Austria called on the Diet to proceed to "federal execution" against Prussia; and several of the lesser states—notably Hanover, Bavaria, Baden and Hesse-Cassel—supported this proposal. Bismarck replied that Prussia no longer recognised the decrees of the Diet, and brought forward a scheme for a new Confederation from which Austria was to be excluded altogether. This was tantamount to a declaration of war, and Bismarck followed it up by an ultimatum to Austria's supporters

among the lesser states, requiring them to accept the scheme for federal reform and to desist from the military preparations which they had already begun. They, confident that the numerical superiority of the Austrian forces must give them victory, refused; whereupon Prussian troops marched into their territories and the war began.

§ 140. THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR.—It lasted less than two months. Von Roon's preparations had been made with meticulous care, the machinery of mobilisation worked efficiently, and the new "needle-gun" with which the Prussian infantry were armed proved immensely superior to the old-fashioned weapon still used by their opponents. Hanover and Saxony lay helpless in the Prussian grasp before they realised that the war had begun, but the main issue was fought out in Bohemia by armies of a quarter of a million under Moltke (Prussia) and Benedek (Austria). At the great battle of KÖNIGGRÄTZ (3rd July 1866) (sometimes known as SADOWA) the Austrians were decisively defeated, and Francis Joseph (in his usual straits for money) at once opened negotiations for peace. The result of the campaign might have been very different but for the fact that an Austrian army-corps was engaged in Italy. The Italians were again defeated on the fatal field of Custoza (24th June), and had it not been for the success of the Prussians the work of 1859-1860 might have been undone. But Bismarck had promised to insist upon Austria surrendering Venetia, and Königgrätz gave him the power to do so.

The negotiations were conducted through the mediation of Napoleon III. He had from the first looked forward to playing this rôle, but the circumstances were very different from his hopes. He had expected that Austria would be successful after a severe struggle in which both combatants would be so exhausted that he would be able to dictate practically what terms he chose, and in a position to claim valuable territorial concessions for France. Prussia's immediate and overwhelming success came as a thunderclap to him, and Sadowa was almost

as great a disaster for France as for Austria. As matters stood, Bismarck held all the cards in the diplomatic game, and he played them with masterly astuteness. King William's respect for "legitimacy" made him anxious not to obliterate the northern states which had sided with Austria; he still cherished vague plans for Prussian supremacy over all Germany; and he wanted to mark the triumph of Prussian arms by a triumphal entry into Vienna. But Bismarck saw practical objections to all these designs. Prussian territory must be consolidated by the absorption of Hanover and Hesse—it was safer to destroy an enemy than to wound him. Napoleon III would strongly object to Prussian hegemony over the whole of Germany, and the Prussian army was in no condition for the moment to undertake a fresh war against such a powerful enemy. It would be better, therefore, for the King to content himself for the time being with the headship of a Confederation limited to northern Germany—the rest would come later. As for Austria, it might be useful to have her as a friend in the next move which Bismarck saw ahead; and now that the south German states had had convincing proof of Prussia's military strength there was every reason for conciliating them, too.

With some difficulty he brought round the King to this point of view; and the Treaty of Prague (1866) let Austria off very lightly. In fact, apart from the cession of Venetia to Italy she lost no territory at all. Prussia annexed both the Danish Duchies, and made her territory continuous from the Oder to the Rhine by absorbing Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau. (King William found a salve to his conscience over this breach of "legitimacy" by the argument that the Judgment of God had been expressed on the battlefield of Königgrätz.) The other states on the north of the River Main (Saxony, Oldenburg and Mecklenburg) were to join Prussia in a NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION (*Norddeutscherbund*); while those that lay to the south of that river (Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden) were to form an independent association of their own.

Then, just when the negotiations were about to close,

Napoleon made a false move which threw the game more completely than ever into Bismarck's hands. He demanded cessions from Baden and Württemberg, as "compensation" to France for the aggrandisement of Prussia. It had always been a tradition that these south German states should look to France for support against masterful neighbours, but Napoleon's blundering trickery ended all that at a blow. Whatever Bismarck had said or left unsaid at the Biarritz interview, his reply was very definite now : Prussia would never consent to the surrender of an inch of German soil. Furthermore, by informing the south German states of Napoleon's demands, he made them look to Prussia for support against France instead of looking to France for support against Prussia. They hastened to enter into "The August Conventions" (1866), by which they agreed to place their armies under the King of Prussia in the event of a national war.

§ 141. RECONSTRUCTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.—The Austro-Prussian War opened a new epoch in central Europe. When Bismarck returned to Berlin he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers even by people who had hitherto distrusted and disliked him. The objects of his tortuous foreign policy and of his defiance of the Reichstag were now plain to all. Prussians were so intoxicated by the sense of power emanating from the mighty military machine which his policy had given them that it required the miseries of the Great War to sober them (at any rate temporarily). Bismarck used his triumph with characteristic moderation. He candidly admitted that he had acted unconstitutionally, and asked for an Act of Indemnity, which the delighted Reichstag readily granted. In the constitution of the new North German Confederation he provided for a popularly elected parliament ; for he had no objection to a democratic legislature so long as it did not try to interfere with the actual work of government. Henceforward he could rely on the support of the bulk of the nation in his work for the consolidation of Germany under Prussian leadership.

The war had equally decisive effects in Austria. The shock of defeat had shaken "the ramshackle empire" to its foundations. Several attempts had been made since 1848 to reform and strengthen it—particularly after the defeats in Italy in 1859. Francis Joseph had been compelled to sit still helpless while Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel tore up the six months old Treaty of Zürich and added the Duchies to Sardinia (§ 134); for the Imperial finances were in such a parlous state that the least movement of troops would have led to bankruptcy. This humiliation had convinced Francis Joseph and his advisers that the centralised autocracy must be modified. Local Councils for each of the Provinces and a Central Council of the Empire (*Reichsrath*) were therefore created to advise on financial matters; and a few months later the Provinces gained considerable rights of self-government by "The DIPLOMA OF OCTOBER" (1860). But the Magyars would not be satisfied with anything short of their old national independence under the Hapsburg monarchy. They refused to send representatives to the Reichsrath and remained in a state bordering on rebellion. There is little doubt that if the war of 1866 had gone on a little longer, Bismarck would have stirred them into breaking away from the Empire. The Slav peoples—Czechs, Poles, Serbs and Croats—were also restless, and the Emperor now realised that the only way to hold his Empire together would be to admit the Hungarians to a partnership in ruling these subject races. He appointed as chief minister Count Beust, who had hitherto been in the service of the King of Saxony, and did not share the anti-Magyar prejudices of the Austrians; while the Hungarians were led by Francis DEAK, a statesman of far more moderate views than the fiery but unpractical Kossuth, who was still in exile. These two men worked out a compromise known as the AUSGLEICH (1867),¹ by which the Empire was divided into two parts, one dominated by Austria and the other by Hungary. Matters common to both, such as

¹ Technically the *Ausgleich* was merely the financial part of the scheme, but the term is commonly applied to the arrangement as a whole.

foreign affairs, finance and the army, were controlled by "delegations" from the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian Diet, meeting at Vienna and Pest in alternate years. Francis Joseph was crowned King of Hungary with the historic crown of St. Stephen, and in that kingdom it became a punishable offence to speak of him as "The Emperor."

An outcome of the war which had even more momentous consequences was Bismarck's friendly hint to Austria that, as Prussia could no longer allow her to dominate Germany, she should turn her attention to the Balkan Peninsula. For this *Drang nach Osten* (eastward thrust) brought Austria into conflict with Russia and led in the end to the World War.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE DECLINE OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

1860-1870

§ 142. WANING POPULARITY.—The creation of Italy in 1859-1860 marked the zenith of the Second Empire. Up till then it had gone from strength to strength. The despots of Russia and Austria had in turn been humbled by French armies; trade and industry had grown by leaps and bounds under a Government that was at once firm and intelligent; Paris had become, as in the great days of the First Empire, the political hub of the world; and by the Treaty of Turin (§ 133) a Napoleon Bonaparte had once again decided the fate of a nation by a stroke of the pen. But then began a decline; and the Emperor's spasmodic efforts to arrest it were like the struggles of a drowning man, which only hasten the inevitable end.

The first symptom of the decline was the opposition of the clerical party. For ten years French Catholics had supported the man who protected them from the horrors of atheistical

republicanism. But his alliance with the Italian nationalist movement gave them a great shock, for that movement could not be carried through to its logical conclusion without depriving the Pope of his temporal dominions. When after Magenta (§ 133) Napoleon called upon Italians to form "a free confederacy" the French clergy had condemned his policy in their pulpits, and the Empress had sent repeated telegrams of expostulation. He had hastily patched up the armistice of Villafranca, which left the Papal Domains intact; but as we have seen (§ 133), circumstances compelled him in the following year to complete his self-appointed task of "freeing Italy to the Adriatic," which involved the confiscation of the outlying papal provinces. Thereafter the clergy and their supporters were definitely ranged against him.

In that same year he estranged another influential section of former supporters by another ill-judged piece of idealism. French industries had hitherto flourished behind a bulwark of high protective duties; but this kept prices cruelly high for the home consumer. Napoleon had always sympathised with the humbler classes, and he determined to do something to reduce the cost of living. The moment was opportune, for Gladstone, the great Free Trade Chancellor of the Exchequer, had just returned to office in England. With unofficial support from him, Cobden, the apostle of the movement, entered into discussions which led to a COMMERCIAL TREATY (1860) by which each country lowered its import duties on the staple products of the other. The negotiations had to be carried through in secret; and when the Treaty was published the indignation and dismay of the industrialists were intense.

Nor was this the only grievance which "big business" now began to harbour against him. Military adventures abroad, corrupt favouritism at home, elaborate schemes of public works, and an extravagant court, were all costly lines of policy. Napoleon seemed to have no idea of the value of money. There was an ever-growing deficit, and by 1860 the floating debt amounted to a thousand million francs. This sort of thing was certain

to lead to a financial crisis, national bankruptcy, and a collapse of the credit which is the life-force of industrial prosperity.

§ 143. A NEW LINE OF POLICY.—To make up for having turned former friends into enemies, Napoleon tried to turn former enemies into friends. After the *coup d'état* all organised opposition was suppressed; the Press was censored; public meetings were forbidden; the Government was autocratic; parliament was powerless. Napoleon now determined to buy the support of "liberals" by allowing political life to begin again. How could Frenchmen be sent to win liberties for Italians which they were not thought fit to enjoy themselves? Moreover, power involves responsibility. An omnipotent ruler has to take the blame for everything that goes wrong. Napoleon was becoming weary of the burden, and was turning a wistful eye across the Channel to a land where "the King can do no wrong," and where the spirit of opposition is directed against "the other side" instead of against the Crown. As a first step in this direction, he issued an amnesty which brought thousands of exiled Socialists and Republicans back to France. He followed this up by decrees (1860) which (i) empowered the Chambers to move and discuss each year a reply to the Speech from the Throne; (ii) appointed ministers to explain and defend the Government's measures to the Deputies; and (iii) permitted debates to be reported in *Le Moniteur*.

But these concessions revived the taste for public affairs while doing very little to satisfy it; for the fact that such trivial privileges were heralded as "liberty" brought home to Frenchmen how despotic the Imperial régime had always been. They had the example of Britain ever before them to show what vigorous political life is like; and the returned exiles took advantage of the Government's leniency to agitate more and more insistently for real parliamentary control. Since 1857 a tiny group of Opposition members known as "The Five" had sat high up on the benches to the Left, with a ring of empty seats around them; but for the election after the decrees of

1860 the malcontents, including industrialists, clericals, Orleanists, Socialists and Republicans, formed a coalition known as "*L'Union Libérale*." They had little cohesion except a common hatred of Louis Napoleon; but they polled nearly a third of the votes cast, and thereafter there was a numerous and eloquent opposition in the Chamber. Thiers returned to public life with demands for "the necessary liberties"; and it was significant that all the Paris members sat on the Opposition benches.

§ 144. SET-BACKS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—To make matters worse, things began to go wrong with the Emperor's relations with foreign Powers. The first of these mishaps to begin, the longest in duration, and the most ruinous to his prestige, was the affair of MEXICO (1861-1867). That state had been having one of its periodical civil wars, and the victor, an Indian named Juarez, announced that the Republic would be unable for some years to pay interest on its foreign loans. The French, British and Spanish Governments sent a joint expedition to compel the Mexicans to fulfil their obligations (December 1861). But the restless and imaginative adventurer on the throne of France espied a chance for a grandiose scheme of expansion. He saw in a rosy vision of the future a Mexican Empire under French influence to be an outlet for French commerce, and a restoration of the French interest in the American continent which had been lost with the storming of Quebec a hundred years before. Of course, he would not have dared thus to defy the Monroe Doctrine (§ 95) but for the fact that the United States were distracted by a Civil War which he hoped would result in the break-up of the Union. As soon as the British and Spanish Governments realised Napoleon's ulterior aims they withdrew their contingents, whereupon he caused the monarchical faction among the Mexicans (in number scarcely a twentieth of the population) to hold an assembly which decreed that the country should become an Empire under the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria. This prince was well known for his attractive personality and liberal ideas. Young,

handsome, happily married, keenly interested in the arts and in science, he was now lured across the Atlantic—to his doom. His authority never extended much further than the range of the rifles of the French garrison; and that garrison was so hampered by the *guerrilla* tactics of the republicans under Juarez that it had to be repeatedly reinforced. The tragic outcome of the enterprise will be seen later. Meanwhile it gained Napoleon a bad name as a wild and unprincipled schemer; and for five years it was a perpetual drain on his reserves of men and money.

This preoccupation hampered him, moreover, in two successive crises that arose in Europe. The first was the POLISH INSURRECTION of 1863 (§ 137). His position forced him to do something for the insurgents; for nationalism was always an essential article of his creed, and the Poles (being Catholics and republicans) had the support of both the opposing factions in the French nation. Britain and Austria also wanted to check the Czar; but they could not agree with each other or with France upon the joint action which alone would have been effective. So Napoleon sent a strongly worded Note protesting at the Czar's failure to give Poland the separate constitution promised by his predecessor at the Congress of Vienna—an odd line for the man who had spent his life trying to undo the effects of that Congress! Gortschakoff, the Russian foreign minister, took advantage of Bismarck's offer of support to refuse all discussion of the Polish question with France—it was a purely domestic affair of the Czar's, he said.

Then came the affair of the Danish Duchies (§ 138). By this time (1865) Napoleon was so deeply involved in his Mexican adventure that he did not dare do more than put forward mild proposals; but Bismarck's contemptuous disregard of them was sufficiently humiliating.

§ 145. "THE ROMAN QUESTION."—Another perplexing problem was his relations with the new Kingdom of Italy. Having offended all good Catholics by helping to bring it into existence,

he offended all good Liberals by preventing its natural consummation—the absorption of Rome into it. He constantly shifted from one horn of the dilemma to the other, and found both equally uncomfortable. When in 1862 Garibaldi planned a dash on Rome, Napoleon threatened to make war on Italy unless Victor Emmanuel checked the movement; and Italy's national hero was wounded by an Italian bullet at ASPROMONTE. Then he went on to the other tack, and made the CONVENTION OF SEPTEMBER (1864) by which he agreed to withdraw the French garrison within two years, provided that Victor Emmanuel would guarantee the inviolability of the city of Rome and would take Florence instead of Turin as his capital.¹

In 1864 Pope Pius IX broke completely with his earlier liberalism by the famous SYLLABUS warning Catholics against some eighty “principal errors,” including rationalism, nationalism, socialism, democracy, lay education, religious toleration, civil marriage—in fact, most of the ideas on which modern, as distinct from medieval, society is based. There is little doubt that this was partly intended as a hit at Napoleon, who always claimed to be the embodiment of the “Revolution.” Smarting under this annoyance, he withdrew his troops from Rome even earlier than the date mentioned in the Convention of September. But this action did not win him any favour with the Liberals; for the garrison had hardly left Rome when Garibaldi once more invaded the Papal Domains, and the French had to return and defeat them at the battle of MENTANA (1867). Thereafter they remained within reach of Rome at Civita Vecchia.

§ 146. FLOUNDERING.—Worse was yet to come. As we have seen, Napoleon made grotesque miscalculations as to the duration and result of the Austro-Prussian War, and by his ill-timed requests for “compensations” on the Rhine he merely strengthened Prussia's hold over the rest of Germany and

¹ It was characteristic of Napoleon's difficulties that the Liberals stigmatised this last provision as a forced renunciation of Rome, while the Catholics stigmatised it as a stepping-stone thither.

embittered the south German states against himself (§ 140). When this was refused he suggested that Bismarck should support him in annexing Belgium, in defiance of the guarantee of Belgian neutrality which the Powers had given in 1839 (§ 104). Bismarck returned an evasive reply—and kept Napoleon's despatch by him for use on some future occasion.

Just about the same time came the tragic end of the Mexican adventure. The Mexicans obstinately refused to accept the régime which Napoleon had designed for them, and the country was in such a state of turmoil that Maximilian was entirely dependent on French support. The War of Secession had come to an end in 1865, leaving the victorious Federal Government once more in a position to insist on its Monroe Doctrine, with a first-rate military force at its back. Napoleon had to choose between the shame of leaving his *protégé* in the lurch and the strain of waging war on a large scale 5000 miles across the ocean. He had to take the former course, despite the entreaties of the poor young "Empress" Carlotta, who came back to Europe to seek aid for her husband, and went mad when she failed. A month after the last of the French troops had sailed for home Maximilian was captured by the rebels and shot.

In his desperate anxiety to please the French nation by some sort of acquisition to set off against all these rebuffs, Napoleon now entered into secret negotiations for the purchase of LUXEMBOURG. The status of this little province was nearly as complicated as that of the Danish Duchies. The King of Holland was its hereditary Grand Duke, yet it belonged to the German Confederation and was included in the Prussian Customs Union; and ever since 1815 a Prussian garrison had occupied its fortress as a safeguard against a French attack on Germany. The King of Holland, being short of money, was quite ready to sell; but when the project became known there was such a storm of indignation in Prussia that for a few weeks it looked as if a Franco-German war might break out right away. Eventually a settlement was made by a Conference of the

Powers in London (1867). Luxembourg was declared a neutral state under their guarantee; the Prussian garrison was to be withdrawn; and the King of Holland, who retained the sovereignty, was to demolish the fortifications.

But once again poor Napoleon had to go empty away!

§ 147. THE LIBERAL EMPIRE.—The Second Empire was a good example of the saying that tyranny is never in such danger as when it is trying to reform. Napoleon's half-hearted concessions to democracy merely gave his opponents opportunities to ask for more. Each election saw the Opposition in the Chamber growing larger and bolder. But in 1866 there arose a middle "THIRD PARTY" under the leadership of Émile OLLIVIER, who had been one of the original "Five." Unlike the bulk of the Opposition, they did not want to destroy the Empire; they merely wanted opportunities for the Chamber to interrogate and criticise all ministers, and an unrestricted right of public meetings. Napoleon was no longer the man who had beaten down opposition so ruthlessly in 1849-1852; he was ageing rapidly, and was tormented by a painful malady which sapped his energies and powers of concentration. His policy began to fluctuate bewilderingly. He called Ollivier into consultation, and concocted with him reforms granting freedom of speech and of the Press. But these concessions were nullified in practice by the influence of the Empress and the administration of Rouher, the chief minister; and at the same time they provoked the rise of yet another Opposition group, the "*Arcadiens*" (so-called because they met in the rue de l'Arcade), who were annoyed with Napoleon for making concessions to democracy, and for the weakness of his foreign policy. More imperialist than the Emperor himself, they hoped for a victorious war that would enable him to restore the autocratic régime of the fifties.

After the General Election of 1869 the opposition parties were so strong that Napoleon tried to appease the liberals by further instalments of constitutional reform. By the

Senatus Consultum (September 1869) he authorised ministers to form a Cabinet responsible to the Chamber, and turned the Senate into a deliberative body like the House of Lords. When at the end of the year he dismissed Rouher and commissioned Ollivier to form a ministry, the conversion of the Empire into a constitutional monarchy on the British model seemed to be complete. Yet even now Napoleon failed to placate his enemies. In the plebiscite for approval of these reforms, nearly a fourth of the voters replied "No," after a terrific agitation in which Left Wing orators vituperated the Emperor as robber, bandit, brigand, assassin and vampire.

The "Liberal Empire," born amid these disturbing symptoms, was destined to survive less than a year.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

1870-1871

§ 148. "WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY."—Sadowa made a Franco-German war almost inevitable. In France a party—small in numbers, but influential and clamorous, consisting mainly of "clericals" and "Arcadians" (§ 147)—were thirsting to get even with Prussia for the gains which Bismarck had not allowed France to share; while in Germany, Bismarck foresaw that such a war would be the best means of carrying through the final stage of his great design to weld all Germany together under Prussian hegemony. For although the South Germans had been stampeded into military and economic subordination (§ 140), they detested Prussia's harsh and self-assertive character, with its ramrod militarism, its heavy-handed governmental methods, and its aggressive Protestantism. Nothing would be so likely to overcome these prejudices as a great war against

France in defence of the sacred soil of the Fatherland, provided that France could be manoeuvred into acting as aggressor. Such a manoeuvre was well within Bismarck's political skill ; and—as so often happened when he played the game of politics—his opponent played into his hand.

Napoleon tried to take diplomatic and military precautions ; but his energies were weakened by physical pain and premature old age, and he failed to clinch matters. For instance, he sought an alliance with Italy—and had some right to, seeing that without his aid there would have been no “ Italy ” in existence ; but negotiations fell through because he lacked the nerve to offend the clerical party by withdrawing the French garrison from Rome. Again, an Austrian archduke visited Paris to devise plans for a combined attack on Prussia, but departed without anything definitely settled. The same sort of thing happened with regard to army reform. Ever since 1818 the French army had been recruited by an annual contingent drawn by lot from men who had reached military age, serving seven years. This gave a standing army of 300,000 men with no organised reserve. After the object-lesson of the War of 1866 the Emperor wanted to adopt the Prussian system of national service ; but the French peasants—the backbone of the nation—so resented the idea of being torn from their farms during the best years of their working lives that he had to abandon the plan. Marshal Niel, the Minister for War, devised a less drastic scheme, by which the “ bad numbers ” in the annual lottery were to be taken for five years with the colours and four years with the reserve, while the “ good numbers ” were to form a *garde mobile* which was to undergo fourteen days' training a year. But even this scheme was whittled down by Parliament, where the Left Wing ridiculed the threat of war ; and the *garde mobile* was made practically useless by an amendment which limited its training to one day at a time. Ministers were too afraid of the electors, and Napoleon had too little “ fight ” left in him, to insist on the reforms being carried through.

And all this while the Prussian General Staff was working away with prodigious energy and pertinacity, perfecting its organisation, equipment and plans of campaign.

§ 149. *CASUS BELLI*.—By the beginning of 1870 the Prussian preparations were complete, and all that Bismarck needed was a suitable reason for war. It came over an issue with which neither France nor Germany had any direct concern. Queen Isabella of Spain, whose reign had begun with the unsavoury incident of "The Spanish Marriages" (§ 112), had made herself impossible as a sovereign. Pleasure-loving, ignorant, wilful and superstitious, she had fallen under the influence of a reactionary clique of clerics and courtiers; and when Marshal Prim raised the standard of revolt at Cadiz (September 1868) he was supported by most of the best elements of the nation, especially of the army. Isabella fled to France, and a National Assembly met at Madrid to provide the country with a new form of government. As a republic seemed likely to offend the crowned heads of Europe, it was finally decided to set up a constitutional monarchy (May 1869). But there was difficulty in finding an eligible prince willing to take over the vacant throne, until at last an invitation was sent to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He was a very distant relative of the King of Prussia; but he was a Catholic and brother of the ruling Prince of Rumania (N57). When King William gave his consent as head of the family, it seemed as if the matter was settled. But the announcement roused the war-party in France to furious indignation. Here was yet another piece of Prussian aggrandisement at the expense of France, which had a traditional bond with Spain! Ollivier, the head of the Government (§ 147), was a liberal and a man of peace; but he saw that if he thwarted this passion he would be swept from office, and liberalism would be discredited as "unpatriotic"; so he went with the stream. The Duc de Gramont, Minister for War, declared in the Chamber that France would never tolerate a Hohenzollern on the throne of Spain: the candidature must be instantly with-

drawn, or the French Government would "know how to do its duty without hesitation and without weakness."

King William was somewhat taken aback at this ; but when it was officially communicated to him by Benedetti, the French ambassador, he mildly replied that this was purely a family matter which concerned him merely as head of the House of Hohenzollern, not as King of Prussia. If Prince Leopold wished to withdraw his candidature, he would consent to that course, but he did not see that more could be expected of him. As a matter of fact, Leopold had already decided that in the circumstances the throne would not be worth having, and on 12th July he announced that he would not accept it after all.

The exultation of France was boundless : Prussia had retreated before her threat of war, and Sadowa was avenged ! So intoxicated were the ministers by their diplomatic victory that they determined to follow it up by humiliating Prussia still further. Benedetti was instructed to seek another interview with King William (now taking the waters at Ems) and demand an explicit undertaking that he would never renew the candidature of Leopold or any other member of his family. Even now the King refused to take offence. He merely sent a message to Benedetti to the effect that, as the Prince had withdrawn there was no point in any further discussion of the matter.

Meanwhile Bismarck was in despair. The truculent attitude of France was just the pretext for war that he was seeking, and here was the King throwing the opportunity away ! On the afternoon of 13th July he was gloomily discussing the situation in Berlin with Roon and Moltke when a telegram arrived from King William describing the recent incident. Bismarck saw his chance. By publishing the telegram with certain passages deleted he made it appear that the King had been insulted and had refused any further communication with the ambassador in terms that could only be a prelude to war. This had the desired effect. All Germany was aflame with indignation at an affront to the nation in the person of the old King who was universally respected ; and this indignation aroused a responsive resent-

ment in France. The Press of both countries fanned the flames with furious diatribes. Such states of tension not infrequently occur between nations and relax without leading to war ; but in this case there was long-standing and deep-seated hostility. Napoleon was nothing like so eager for war as the people around him, for he was not misled by the optimistic reports of the generals as to the efficiency of the army ; but he had not the moral force to withstand them, and was carried away by his high-spirited Empress, who regarded a war against Prussia as a crusade against Protestantism, and looked for a glorious victory that would restore the waning prestige of the Empire for the benefit of her young son the Prince Imperial. War was declared on 15th July.

§ 150. THE END OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.—The war lasted six months, from the beginning of August to the end of January 1871. It fell into two unequal parts. For five weeks, until the capitulation at Sedan (2nd September), the Imperial armies were fighting near the frontiers ; then the Empire collapsed, and for five months improvised forces carried on a desperate struggle under a government of National Defence round the beleaguered city of Paris.

The French began, full of flamboyant confidence, with an attack on the Upper Rhine which they hoped would bring in Austria and the south German states on their side. But everything went wrong for them. Firstly, Bismarck had played his cards so well, and the French Government had played theirs so badly, in the recent dispute that the south German states threw in their lot with Prussia. Secondly, the readiness of the French army for war had been absurdly overestimated : scarcely a battalion was up to its paper strength. Moreover, the High Command was honeycombed with personal jealousies, self-seeking and favouritism—fatal weaknesses when pitted against German discipline, efficiency and forethought. And Napoleon's attempt to take supreme command resulted in hesitation, delay and intrigue.

On 6th August the "Army of Alsace" under Marshal MacMahon was defeated by the German Crown Prince (with an army composed, significantly enough, of south German troops) at WÖRTH, and was compelled to withdraw towards Châlons. On the same day another French army, under Bazaine, was defeated at SPICHEREN and driven back upon Metz. These disasters caused the resignation of the Ollivier cabinet, and the formation of a reactionary ministry under the influence of the Empress. Probably the wisest course would have been to unite the two defeated armies for the defence of Paris; but Eugénie feared that a retirement would be fatal to the new Government. Meanwhile the Germans were pressing on in irresistible strength, and marched round Metz from the south. Bazaine made a half-hearted attempt to escape from the trap; but after a terrible struggle lasting several days, generally known as the battle of GRAVELOTTE, he was cooped up in the fortress with 180,000 men. The Emperor managed to join MacMahon at Châlons, and (all too late) gave him supreme command. Once again MacMahon wanted to retreat and fight the next battle with the aid of the fortress-guns of Paris; but again Eugénie insisted that Bazaine must be relieved for the credit of her Government. Yet when MacMahon tried to reach Metz by a northerly route, Bazaine did nothing to support him; and by the time he had reached SEDAN the Germans had manoeuvred so skilfully that all hope of relieving the fortress had to be abandoned—the only question was whether this second army could itself escape their clutches. That question was speedily answered. When the Germans attacked on 1st September, the French were driven into the town, where they were exposed to artillery fire to which they could not reply. In the evening the Emperor and 100,000 men surrendered as prisoners of war.

Bonapartism was so closely associated with military glory in the minds of men that the one could not exist without the other. The news of Sedan was the signal for a revolution in Paris. The Ministry resigned, a republic was proclaimed, and a

"Ministry of National Defence" was set up under General Trochu, with Jules FAVRE (one of the old "Five") in charge of foreign affairs, and Léon GAMBETTA (a fiery young Gascon lawyer, who had already made a mark by his withering indictments of the Empire) as Minister of the Interior. The Empress, who had long dreaded lest a revolution should bring upon her the fate of Marie Antoinette, fled to England, where she lived until 1920.

§ 151. THE WAR OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.—Sedan was another Sadowa. Would it be followed by another Prague—would Bismarck push on with a peace of reconciliation in order to forestall the intervention of the Powers? The whole history of our civilisation since then would have been different if he had done so; but he did not. He gave way to the demand of the General Staff that Alsace and Lorraine should be annexed. When the German armies reached striking-distance of Paris, Favre sought an interview with Bismarck; but on learning the price of peace he closed all discussion with the words "Not an inch of our soil, not a stone of our fortresses!"

So the war went on. The Germans invested Paris, but made no attempt to take it by storm. Just before the lines closed the seat of government was removed to Bordeaux; and soon afterwards Gambetta escaped in a balloon to organise and inspire the nation for a tremendous struggle to hurl back the invader. With his quenchless energy, his imperious will and his fiery eloquence, he tried to play the part which Danton had played in the great days of 1793 (§ 31). Within a few weeks he had half a million men under arms, and had unearthed a capable commander in Chanzy. For a time it seemed as if the heroic effort might be successful, for half the German forces were occupied by the siege of Metz, and they had perilously long lines of communication. As great feats of marching and fighting were performed as in the famous "Campaign of France" (§ 79), and a little victory at Coulmiers did much to raise the spirit of the nation. But the conditions of warfare

had changed since the days of the Revolution. It was now such a specialised business that no amount of enthusiasm could long withstand the cast-iron efficiency of the German war-machine. Moreover, at the end of October came the crushing news that Bazaine had capitulated at Metz. This vain, flashy, self-seeking person had managed to make people think him a great general; but in the field he showed nerveless, hesitant incompetence, and when besieged in Metz he displayed even worse faults. Instead of harassing the enemy by vigorous sorties, he tried to play for his own hand, by negotiating for a peace that would leave him at the head of an unbroken army, and therefore the most powerful man in France. Bismarck kept him in play until it was too late for effective action and then insisted on unconditional surrender. Thus 180,000 men, the flower of the French army, laid down their arms; and worse still, a quarter of a million Germans were set free to press on the siege of Paris.

§ 152. BISMARCK TRIUMPHANT. — Meanwhile Thiers was going round trying to induce the Powers to intervene, but he had no success. Bismarck had made his diplomatic preparations so skilfully that he managed to keep Europe at arm's length while the Prussian armies completed their work. One by one the armies extemporised by Gambetta were destroyed. Paris held out with heroic fortitude, despite famine and bombardment, until the end of January; but on the 28th of that month Favre was compelled once more to seek an interview with Bismarck, and this time he had to accept the hard terms on which the "Iron Chancellor" insisted. The forts were to be surrendered, and the regular troops (but not the National Guard) disarmed. A National Assembly was to meet at Bordeaux to treat with the German Government as to terms of peace.

A few days earlier a memorable ceremony had taken place in the Great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Recent experience had convinced the south German states that "Union is strength,"

and in the previous November they had voluntarily joined the North German Confederation. The unity of the nation was now symbolised by a change of title. Bismarck had a good deal of opposition to overcome, for Bavaria and Saxony were still very jealous of Prussia, while King William himself was reluctant to exchange the historic kingship of Prussia for a new-fangled Imperial Crown. But Bismarck consoled him with the fact that he would retain the old title even after adopting the new ; while the smaller states were placated by his taking the title of "German Emperor" instead of "Emperor of Germany." The constitution of the new *Reich* differed in no important respect from the *Bund* which it replaced, but the change was one of those outward and visible signs which impress the imagination of mankind ; and it marked the culmination of the great adventure upon which Bismarck and his master had embarked in 1862 (§ 136).

In February the National Assembly of France met at Bordeaux and accepted the peace terms imposed upon them by their defeat. France was to cede Alsace and eastern Lorraine, and to pay an indemnity of five milliards of francs. An army of occupation was to be withdrawn gradually as the instalments of the indemnity were paid. On 1st March a contingent of the German army, 30,000 strong, headed by the new Emperor, marched into Paris and encamped for two days in the Champs-Élysées—another "outward and visible sign." The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort on 10th May 1871.

NOTES ON PERIOD IV (1848-1871)

SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE

POPE :	PIUS IX (1846-1878).
FRANCE :	NAPOLÉON III President, 1848-1852 ; Emperor, 1852-1870.
AUSTRIA :	FRANCIS JOSEPH (1848-1916).
PRUSSIA :	FREDERICK WILLIAM IV (1840-1861). WILLIAM I (1861-1888).
GREAT BRITAIN :	VICTORIA (1837-1901).
RUSSIA :	NICHOLAS I (1825-1855). ALEXANDER II (1855-1881).
ITALY :	VICTOR EMMANUEL II (1861-1878).
SPAIN :	ISABELLA II (1833-1868).

No. 49.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE: No. 8.—THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1848-1852).

Drawn up by the Constituent Assembly which met after the Revolution of February 1848. Finally approved, October 1848.

It began with a recital of the " Duties of the Citizen " to balance the " Rights of Man " embodied in former Constitutions.

LEGISLATURE : A single chamber of 750 deputies elected by universal suffrage for four years.

It could not be dissolved or prorogued without its own consent before expiry of four years. Elected a Council of State which prepared Bills.

EXECUTIVE : A President, elected by universal suffrage for four years.

He appointed ministers ; was not to be eligible for re-election ; and might be tried by a special court if he violated the Constitution.

AN ATTEMPT TO BALANCE LEGISLATURE AND EXECUTIVE BY MAKING EACH DEPENDENT ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

(Something like the Constitution of the U.S.A.)

No. 50.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE: No. 9.—THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852-1871).

This was really brought into existence by the *coup d'état* of December 1851. When Louis Napoleon changed the title of Prince President for that of Emperor (November 1852) little else was changed (§ 117).

EXECUTIVE : A President, who monopolised all the functions of government ; and held office for ten years, with power to nominate his successor.

He nominated all ministers (who acted separately, with no cabinet unity), all officers, all Prefects and Mayors. He appointed a Council of State to prepare legislation, and a Senate to "safeguard" the Constitution. (The Empire was, of course, for life and hereditary.)

LEGISLATURE: An assembly of 250 delegates, elected (nominally) by universal suffrage.

But the Government put forward "official candidates" who enjoyed immense advantages—free printing, use of public buildings, returning-officers who were Government officials, etc. Moreover, the Assembly had practically no powers: it could not initiate legislation, it had to pass Government Bills without modification, it could not criticise ministers or even address the President, it could not control the expenditure of the public money which it voted in the annual Budget, its debates might not be reported in newspapers.

N.B.—The reforms of 1860 gave the Opposition opportunities to criticise the Government (§ 143), while that granted in 1869 made it a "Constitutional" or "Liberal" Empire (§ 147).

No. 51.—LOUIS KOSSUTH (1802–1894).

THE NATIONAL HERO OF HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Originally a journalist; editor of *Pesti Hirlap*. Deputy in Diet of Pressburg (1847). Leader of opposition to Austrian domination. Speech of March 1848, calling Vienna a "charnel-house," led to overthrow of Metternich (§ 120). Induced Diet to pass "March Laws," calling upon Emperor to make Kingdom of Hungary separate from Austria. When this was refused, he inspired War of Independence, and proclaimed Hungary an independent Republic. This led to breach with Görgei, military leader of the revolt. He also alienated the Croatian subjects of Hungary by refusing them the national independence which he claimed for Hungarians.

When the revolt was crushed (largely through intervention of Russia) he fled to Turkey, thence to England, where he was fêted as martyr of nationalism. Spent the rest of his life in exile, mostly at Turin.

No. 52.—THE CONSTITUTION OF PRUSSIA (1850).

Granted by Frederick William IV after the break-down of the Frankfort Parliament (§ 127). A *Landtag* consisting of two chambers, an Upper Chamber of nobles nominated by the King, and a Lower Chamber of deputies elected by universal suffrage. Voting oral. Voters in each district divided into three "colleges," according to the amount they paid in taxation—thus the third-class college contained eighty-five per cent. of the population, and the first class only four per cent. Each college had equal voice in election of deputies.

An interesting example of how "universal suffrage" can be made a farce.

The King laid down the conditions on which he granted the constitution on taking the oath to it: "In Prussia the King must govern. I govern not because it is my pleasure, but because it is the command of God. That is why I intend to continue to govern: we must have a free people under a free king."

No. 53.—THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848-1849.

FRANCE.	ITALY.	GERMANY.
		18
FEB.—Flight of Louis-Philippe. Second Republic declared.	JAN.—Rising in Naples and Sicily. FEB.—Ferdinand of Naples grants constitution. MAR. 18-23. — Austrians expelled from Milan, Venice, Duchies. King Charles Albert drives out Radetsky.	MAR. 4.—King Fredk. Wm. of Prussia promises a constitution. Heidelberg Assembly meets. MAR. 18-21.—Risings in Berlin. King supports Pan - German movement.
MAY.—Constituent Assembly meets in Paris.	MAY.— <i>Ferdinand effects counter-Revolution in Naples.</i> FINIS IN SOUTH ITALY. JULY.— <i>Charles Albert defeated by Radetsky at Custozza.</i> SEPT.—Pope appoints Rossi (Liberal) as chief minister. Nov.—Rossi assassinated—Pope flees to Gaeta.	MAY.—National Parliament meets at Frankfurt. JUNE.—Parliament elects Archduke John as "Imperial Vicar."
OCT. — Constitution of Second Republic passed. DEC. — <i>Election of Bonaparte as President.</i>		OCT.—Parliament begins to discuss constitution.
		18
MAY.— <i>Legislature (Conservative mandate) meets</i> JUNE.— <i>Failure of last Socialist Rising, leaders exiled.</i> FINIS IN FRANCE.	FEB.—Roman Republic proclaimed. MAR.— <i>Charles Albert again defeated (Novara). Abdicates.</i> FINIS IN NORTH ITALY. APRIL.—Oudinot repulsed from Rome. JULY.— <i>Oudinot storms Rome. Pope restored.</i> FINIS IN CENTRAL ITALY.	MAR.—Parliament offers Imperial Crown to King of Prussia. APRIL.— <i>Fredk. Wm. refuses crown.</i> JUNE.— <i>Rump of Parliament forcibly dissolved.</i> FINIS IN GERMANY.

AUSTRIA.	HUNGARY.	BOHEMIA.
<p>48</p> <p>MAR. 13-15.—Rising in Vienna; flight of Metternich. Emperor promises constitution.</p> <p>MAY. — Constituent Assembly meets in Vienna.</p> <p>JULY.—New Parliament meets (Slav majority).</p> <p>SEPT.—Slav members driven from Vienna.</p> <p>OCT. — <i>Windischgrätz crushes Revolution in Vienna.</i></p> <p>DEC.—<i>Emperor Ferdinand abdicates, Schwarzenberg in power.</i></p> <p>FINIS IN AUSTRIA.</p>	<p>MAR. 3. — Kossuth's "charnel - house" speech.</p> <p>"March Laws."</p> <p>Emperor grants "Home Rule."</p> <p>Emperor appoints Jellachich as "Ban."</p> <p>APRIL.—Croatia declared independent of Hungary.</p> <p>AUG.—<i>Emperor cancels concessions.</i></p> <p>SEPT.—<i>Jellachich invades Hungary with Croatian army.</i></p> <p>OCT.—<i>Hungarians repelled from Vienna by Jellachich.</i></p>	<p>MAR.—Bohemian Diet petitions for "Home Rule."</p> <p>APRIL. — Emperor grants "Home Rule."</p> <p>JUNE.—Pan-Slav Congress meets.</p> <p><i>Windischgrätz crushes Revolution in Prague.</i></p> <p>FINIS IN BOHEMIA.</p>
<p>49</p>	<p>APRIL. — Hungarian Republic declared by Kossuth. War of Independence begins.</p> <p>JUNE.—<i>Russians invade Hungary.</i></p> <p>AUG. — <i>Surrender of Görgei at Vilagos.</i></p> <p>FINIS IN HUNGARY.</p>	

No. 54.—CZAR NICHOLAS I (Reigned 1825-1855).

HATED BY EUROPEAN "LIBERALS" AS EMBODIMENT OF REACTIONARY TYRANNY.

A contrast to the spasmodic sentimental "liberalism" of his brother Alexander I.

Three main lines of policy: (1) Repression of Polish nationalism. (2) Defence of Balkan Christians against Sultan. (3) Expansion of Russian power in Asia.

He always wanted to be on good terms with Britain—abandoned Unkiar Skelessi to please her (§ 109); suggested partition of Ottoman Empire. But these advances were rejected. "Russophobia" took possession of British people—personified by Lord Palmerston. This feeling was embittered when

He sent an army to crush the Hungarian revolt against the Emperor of Austria (1849) (§ 125).

He could not allow the erection of Hungarian republic on frontier of Poland, which also had nationalist aspirations; but his action seemed that of a brutal tyrant.

After fall of Metternich (1848) he stood forth as leader of "conservatism" in Europe, and seemed about to absorb the Ottoman Empire. It was to prevent this that Britain and France made "The Crimean War."

Died in the course of that war: disappointment, depression, and "Général Février turned traitor."

No. 55.—EVENTS LEADING TO CRIMEAN WAR.

1853—July: Russian troops occupy Danubian Principalities. Vienna Note (mediation of Powers) accepted by Czar, rejected by Sultan.

October: French and British fleets pass Dardanelles "to protect Constantinople." *Turkey declares war on Russia.*

November: Russians destroy Turkish fleet at Sinope.

1854—January: French and British fleets enter Black Sea.

February: French and British demand evacuation of Principalities.

March: *France and Britain declare war on Russia.*

No. 56.—COURSE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

1854—September: Allied troops land. *Battle of the Alma.* Siege of Sebastopol begins.

October: *Battle of Balaklava* (in defence of British sea-base).

November: *Battle of Inkerman* (an attempt by Russians to raise siege).

1855—January: Sardinia enters the war.

March: Death of Czar Nicholas.

June: Unsuccessful attack by Allies on redoubts.

August : *Battle of Tchernaya* (Zouaves and Sardinians repel Russian sortie).

September : French capture Malakoff ; British capture but fail to hold Redan. Russians evacuate Sebastopol.

No. 57.—THE FORMATION OF RUMANIA.

Moldavia and Wallachia, the "Danubian Principalities," claimed to be Latin, not Slav, by origin, but belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. They had long paid tribute to the Sultan, who nominated Greeks to administer them. In Russo-Turkish wars they were always overrun by Russian armies. Hyspanti started the Greek War of Independence there (§ 96) ; and after that war (1834) the Czar claimed a voice in choosing their *Hospodars*, or viceroys. At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1853-56 they were as usual occupied by Russian troops—and the demand for withdrawal of these troops was the *casus belli* which brought France and Britain into what became the "Crimean War."

At the Peace of Paris (1856) the Sultan undertook to leave them independent except for the payment of tribute ; while the Powers insisted that they should remain separate. In 1859 they got over this by both choosing the same Hospodar—Alexander Couza. (The Powers too busy over Austro-Italian War to intervene.) Couza set up an unpopular despotism, so in 1866 they dethroned him, and invited Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (a relative both of King William of Prussia and of Napoleon III) to be their *hereditary* Prince. (The Powers too busy over Austro-Italian War to intervene.) At the Congress of Berlin (1878) the Powers officially recognised this. In 1881 the Prince assumed the title of King.

No. 58.—THE ZOLLVEREIN.

AN ECONOMIC UNIFICATION OF GERMANY UNDER SUPREMACY OF PRUSSIA, FORESHADOWING THE POLITICAL UNIFICATION WHICH FOLLOWED.

After the settlement of 1815 Prussia had great difficulty in establishing economic unity, owing to division into two separate areas, with several little enclaves ruled by independent princes.

Stage I. (1818-20).—Prussia formed a Customs Union (*Zollverein*) with each of the rulers of these enclaves. The latter were to abolish their economic frontiers (while retaining political independence), and were to draw revenue from Prussian Customs in proportion to their population.

Stage II. (1828-34).—Certain states outside Prussian frontiers joined the *Zollverein*—accepted Prussian tariff and trade-treaties with foreign Powers.

The first state to join was Hesse-Darmstadt. When Hesse-Cassel joined (1831), the *Zollverein* became a solid block of northern Germany. By 1836 most of the states of Germany had joined, though the north-western states—Hanover, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg and the Hanse

Towns—remained outside in order to enjoy specially favourable terms for trade with Britain.

Stage III. (1850-53).—After the Revolutions and the abasement of Prussia at Olmütz (§ 127), the south German states left the Prussian *Zollverein* and joined one presided over by Austria. Prussia then formed a new union with the states of the north-west. In 1853 the Austrian *Zollverein* collapsed, and the south German states rejoined the Prussian *Zollverein*, which henceforward included practically the whole of Germany.

No. 59.—THE FOUR MAKERS OF ITALY.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI (1805-1872): *the idealist who created the spirit of the Risorgimento*. The apostle of Italian unity and nationhood. Founded the patriotic society "Young Italy." Spent most of his life in exile—at Marseilles and in England. Leading figure in the short-lived Roman Republic (§ 126). Rigidly republican, he refused to co-operate with Cavour, or to recognise the Kingdom of Italy.

COUNT CAMILLO CAVOUR (1810-1861): *the statesman who provided the movement with the foreign aid without which it could not be successful*. Prime Minister to Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, he set himself to effect Italian unity by an extension of that Kingdom to the whole peninsula. Strengthened its financial and military resources; sent troops to take part in Crimean War and denounced Austria in the Peace Congress which followed; made Pact of Plombières with Napoleon III (1858); made Treaty of Turin with Napoleon III (1860); restrained Garibaldi from attacking Rome, and advised King Victor Emmanuel to conquer Papal Domains and Naples himself (1860-61).

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI (1807-1882): *the fighting-man who focused Italian patriotism by his magnetic personality and his genius in irregular warfare*. A republican and a freethinker; an exile in South America after the rebellions of 1830; returned in 1848, when he fought under Charles Albert; carried on *guerrilla* in Alpine foothills; took part in defence of Roman Republic; escaped to America. Returned again in 1859; after Villafranca led his "Thousand" volunteers to conquer Sicily and Naples—handed that kingdom over reluctantly to Victor Emmanuel. Hated Cavour for bartering away Savoy and Nice, and always disliked Italy becoming a kingdom instead of a republic. Made repeated efforts to capture Rome—defeated by Sardinian troops (Aspromonte, 1862) and by the French garrison which protected the Pope (Mentana, 1867).

VICTOR EMMANUEL II (reigned 1849-1878): *the King who by his staunchness to constitutional rule made himself possible as ruler of united Italy*. Resisted Austrian pressure to set up despotic rule again after 1848-49. Appointed Cavour, and backed up his far-sighted measures. Took a longer view than the minister in accepting the Villafranca compromise. Acted with resolution, yet with moderation, in conquering Naples and the Papal Domains, so as to restrain Garibaldi's proposal to attack the city of Rome.

No. 60.—THE PART PLAYED BY FOREIGN POWERS IN THE CREATION OF ITALY.

FRANCE.

Napoleon III had been a *carbonaro* in his young days ; “ nationalism ” was an important article of his creed ; opposition to Austria was a traditional part of French foreign policy ; on his first accession to power he had promised to “ do something for Italy.” But there were two difficulties : (a) supporting rebellions was opposed by the powerful “ Party of Order ” in France—especially by the Empress and the clericals, who were horrified at the prospect of the Pope losing his Domains ; and (b) it was contrary to French policy to create a powerful kingdom on her south-eastern frontier, and Napoleon therefore did not want the unification to go further than a loose confederation of states.

1858–59. He entered into the Pact of Plombières ; led a French army to support Victor Emmanuel in the campaign of Solferino ; made the Armistice of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zürich, by which Lombardy was added to Piedmont (§ 133).

1860. He made the Treaty of Turin by which he countenanced the annexation of the Duchies and Romagna by Piedmont, receiving Savoy and Nice for himself (§ 133).

(But he installed a garrison at Rome to protect the Pope’s independence.)

1865. He entered into verbal agreements with Bismarck (at Biarritz) by which Italy was to have Venetia as a result of Austro-Prussian War (§ 139).

PRUSSIA.

Before Bismarck became chief minister, Prussia had hindered Italian unity by threatening the French frontier during the war of 1859. Bismarck reversed this policy, but purely for Prussian interests—he cared nothing about Italian “ freedom.”

1866. Bismarck made treaty with Italy for a simultaneous attack on Austria. The Italians were defeated at Custozza, but the victory of Königgrätz enabled Prussia to compel Austria to cede Venetia to Italy.

1870. Prussia’s defeat of France compelled the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome, which became the capital of Italy.

BRITAIN.

Public opinion had always been sympathetic towards foreign (especially Italian) “ liberals,” and many of them took refuge here. This was almost the only subject on which the “ Triumvirate ” Ministry (Palmerston, Russell, Gladstone) was heartily agreed.

1859. This attitude was so well known that the mere presence of the British Mediterranean squadron paralysed the Neapolitan warships during the landing of Garibaldi’s “ Thousand ” in Sicily and during their transportation across the Strait of Messina ; and Lord John Russell’s declaration of neutrality was so emphatic that the reactionary

Powers hesitated to intervene on behalf of the King of Naples until it was too late.

Italians were far more grateful to Britain for this negative support than they were to Napoleon III for his active intervention on their behalf; for Napoleon had exacted a heavy price, and then prevented them from getting Rome.

No. 61.—STAGES IN THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY.

Up to 1859 all attempts had failed owing to differences of aim. Should it be a confederacy of independent states under the Pope (advocated by Gioberti); a united Republic (aimed at by Mazzini and Garibaldi); or a united Kingdom under the House of Savoy (achieved by Cavour and Victor Emmanuel)?

Stage I. (1859).—The Pact of Plombières, the War of 1859 (Magenta and Solferino); the Armistice of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zürich. LOMBARDY added to PIEMONTE.

Stage II. (1860).—The peoples of the Duchies refuse to accept their rulers again; Treaty of Turin. TUSCANY, MODENA, PARMA, ROMAGNA join Piedmont and Lombardy to form the Kingdom of Italy (but Savoy and Nice ceded to France).

Stage III. (1860).—Garibaldi and his "Thousand" invade Sicily and Naples; Victor Emmanuel invades Papal Domains and Naples; NAPLES, SICILY, PAPAL DOMAINS added to Kingdom of Italy.

Stage IV. (1866).—Prusso-Austrian War leads to VENETIA being added to the Kingdom, despite defeat of Italians at Custoza.

Stage V. (1870).—Franco-German War enables King of Italy to seize ROME.

(The World War enabled Italy to annex "*Italia Irredenta*"—the Trentino and Istria, including Trieste; and even then she demanded certain further districts on the east coast of the Adriatic.)

No. 62.—THE OBSTACLES TO GERMAN UNITY AND HOW THEY WERE OVERCOME.

(1) The German people consisted, historically, of a number of tribes having little in common—Saxons, Rhinelanders, Prussians, Bavarians, etc.

(2) The rulers of the various states were intensely jealous of their independence.

(3) The two great Germanic Powers, Austria and Prussia, prevented each other from gaining an unquestioned mastery over the others, by their rivalry.

"LIBERALISM" HAD PROVED UNABLE TO OVERCOME THESE OBSTACLES IN 1848-49 (§ 127).

Bismarck solved the problem by (a) compelling Austria to surrender all claim to be a Germanic Power (Prusso-Austrian War of 1866); and (b) inducing the south German states to join Prussia in a permanent *Reich* by staging a national war (Franco-German War, 1870).

The *Zollverein* (N58) was another factor which must not be overlooked.

No. 63.—RESULTS OF PRUSSO-AUSTRIAN WAR (1866).

PRUSSIA. Enlarged and consolidated territory (now continuous between Oder and Rhine), by annexation of Hanover and Hesse. All Germany north of the Main formed into a North German Confederation completely dominated by Prussia, with control over armies and finances of the three south German states (by the August Conventions) (§ 140).

AUSTRIA. Driven outside "Germany." Forced to share supremacy in her own dominions with Hungarians by the *Ausgleich*. Began the *Drang nach Osten*—expansion of interest in the Balkan Peninsula which led to the World War.

FRANCE. Prestige of Second Empire severely shaken by Napoleon's failure to secure any "compensation" for the enormous enhancement of Prussian power; and the hostility of south German states incurred by Bismarck's disclosures to them (§ 140).

ITALY. Gained Venetia.

No. 64.—THE CREATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Stage I. (1866).—The North-German Confederation.

Unlike the Confederation of 1815, it was not a federation of states (*Staatenbund*), but a federal state (*Bundesstaat*). Each of the member-states kept its own government for internal affairs, but gave the control of its armed forces to a superior federal government, dominated by Prussia, which also conducted all relations with foreign Powers.

The federal government was presided over by the King of Prussia (William I), represented by his Chancellor (Bismarck). There was also a Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) representing the several state-governments; and an assembly (*Reichstag*) elected by universal suffrage, representing the populations. Each of the states had its own government, with an elected *Landtag*, controlling justice, religion, education, public works, etc. The King of Prussia as head of Federal Government controlled armies, and commanded them; convoked and dissolved Reichstag, etc.

The two chambers were contrived by Bismarck to cancel each other out: the *Bundesrath* would counteract the *Reichstag's* tendency to democracy, and the *Reichstag* would counteract the *Bundesrath's* tendency to particularism. So confident was he of this method of control that he soothed the apprehension of the lesser states by allowing Prussian representatives to be in a minority in both chambers. (Only 17 out of 43 in the *Bundesrath*.)

Stage II. (1866-67).—The August Conventions.

These were alliances formed by the various southern states with the *Bund* by which they placed their armed forces in time of war under the command of the King of Prussia.

Stage III. (1870-71).—The German Empire.

Very little change in constitution; the south German states individually joined the North German Confederation while the Franco-

German War was in progress, and in January 1871 they agreed to revive the mediæval names *Reich* and *Kaiser*.

The southern states were very reluctant to lose their sovereign independence. To placate King Ludwig of Bavaria the Emperor was called *Deutscher Kaiser* instead of *Kaiser von Deutschland*; and Bavaria was allowed to keep its own military uniforms and postal system.

N.B.—Alsace-Lorraine was not annexed by Prussia, but became "*Reichsland*."

No. 65.—EFFECTS OF FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

PRUSSIA. King became German Emperor. The German Empire acquired Alsace-Lorraine.

FRANCE. Lost Alsace-Lorraine; had to pay a heavy indemnity; became a Republic.

ITALY. Took advantage of withdrawal of the French garrison to get possession of Rome.

The Pope retired into the Vatican rather than recognise the authority of Victor Emmanuel, and his successors did not set foot outside it until 1932.

RUSSIA. Took advantage of France being *hors de combat* to repudiate the Black Sea clauses of the Peace of Paris (§ 131). Britain could not refuse, but "saved her face" by calling a Conference of the Powers in London, which sanctioned what Russia had already done.

Russia threatened Austria, if Austria attacked Prussia—and Bismarck thus drew yet another dividend from his investment over the Polish insurrection (§ 137).

BRITAIN. The Gladstone Ministry insisted on both Powers undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

Public opinion was at first on the side of the Germans, owing to hostility to Napoleon III; but it veered round in sympathy with the struggles of the young Republic.

No. 66.—FAMOUS SAYINGS OF THE PERIOD.

(1) From the charnel-house of the Vienna cabinet a pestilential air breathes on us, which dulls our nerve and paralyses the flight of our spirit.

Kossuth in the Hungarian Diet at Prague on 3rd March 1848—in the speech that was the starting-point of the Hungarian and Austrian revolutions.

(2) Prussia is henceforth absorbed in Germany. ("*Preussen geht fortan in Deutschland auf.*")

Frederick William IV's phrase when accepting, in March 1848, the Pan-German ideal—which he afterwards repudiated.

(3) I will not stoop to pick a crown out of the gutter!

Frederick William's expression when refusing the Imperial Crown of Germany offered him by the Frankfort Parliament, April 1849.

(4) Fortune who betrays us to-day will smile on us to-morrow. I am going out from Rome. Let those who wish to continue the war against the stranger come with me. I offer neither pay, quarters nor provisions ; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, death. (*"Fame, sete, marcie forzati, battaglie, e morte."*) Let him who loves his country in his heart and not with his lips only, follow me.

Gariibaldi's famous speech in the piazza of St. Peter's when the Roman Republic was about to fall to the French (§ 126). About 4000 volunteered.

(5) Nous avons sur les bras un homme malade, très malade, qui peut subitement mourir. Eh bien ! je vous demande, ne vaut-il pas mieux se parer d'avance contre cette éventualité que de courir les risques du chaos, de la confusion, de la guerre ?

Remark made by the Czar Nicholas to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg in January 1853 (§ 129). He went on to propose that Britain should annex Egypt and Crete, while Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumania were made independent states under Russian protection.

(6) If we did for ourselves half what we do for our country, what rascals we should be !

Cavour, on the trickery he employed in working for Italian unity.

(7) Les chassepots ont fait merveille.

A callous expression of General Failly, in a despatch after Mentana (§ 145). It gave great offence to "liberals" in France and elsewhere. The *chassepot* was a new type of rifle.

(8) L'Italie ne s'emparera pas de Rome. Jamais, jamais la France ne supportera pas cette violence faite à son honneur et à la Catholicité.

Another expression, made by Rouher in the Chamber in connection with the same episode, which aroused great indignation among liberals.

(9) I am papering over the cracks.

Bismarck's expression as to his policy in postponing the rupture with Austria until his preparations were complete (§ 139).

(10) Prussia strikes when Prussia's hour has struck.

Another of Bismarck's forceful metaphors—the corollary of No. 9.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD IV

1. How far would it be true to describe Austria in 1848 as "a ramshackle empire"? (LGS '24.)
2. Account for the initial success and subsequent failure of the risings in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia in 1848-49. (LM '23, OC '30, CL '32.)
3. Describe the risings in Italy in 1848-49, and account for their failure. (LM '23, NUJB '31.)
4. Account for the failure of the Frankfort Parliament of 1848-49. (LM '25.)
5. Explain why many revolutions broke out on the Continent in 1848-49. Was there any similar movement in England? (OL '29.)
6. Trace the movement for national unity in Germany between 1815 and 1851. How far did it make progress? (LM '23.)
7. Account for (a) the establishment, (b) the overthrow, of the Second Republic in France. (LM '25.)
8. "If the *coup d'état* of 1851 was a crime, France was less its victim than its accomplice." Discuss this statement, and consider the causes of the overthrow of the Second Republic. (LM '23.)
9. Write accounts of (a) the Napoleonic Legend, and (b) Napoleon III's Mexican Expedition. (NUJB '31.)
10. Discuss the stages after the abdication of Louis-Philippe by which Napoleon III became Emperor of the French. (OL '32.)
11. How would you distribute the responsibility for the outbreak of the Crimean War between the Powers chiefly concerned? (LM '25.)
12. Explain the objects of (a) Russia, (b) France, and (c) England in the Crimean War. (NUJB '32.)
13. What were the chief causes and results of the Crimean War? (LGS '32.)
14. Trace the Crimean War from the battle of the Alma to the fall of Sebastopol, and explain the long duration of the siege. (LM '22.)
15. Give a short character-study of Pius IX or Napoleon III. (LGS '22.)
16. What led Napoleon III to take part in the Italian war of 1859? (NUJB '32.)
17. Show (either in words or by a sketch-map) the main political divisions of Italy before 1859, and indicate some of the difficulties in the way of the creation of a united Italy. (LGS '22, LM '32.)
18. Indicate the chief stages in the unification of Italy during the reign of Victor Emmanuel II. (LM '23, '25, CL '30.)
19. Why did the Italian national movement finally issue in union under the House of Savoy instead of a federation under the Pope? (OC '30.)
20. Describe the attitude of the Papacy towards the movement for Italian unity. (CL '30.)
21. "Italy as a nation is the life's work of Cavour." Discuss (CL '32.)
22. Compare the part played by Cavour and Garibaldi respectively in the unification of Italy. (LGS '22, LM '24, NUJB '31.)
23. Show how Cavour took advantage of the difficulties of France and Austria to advance the cause of Italian unity. (OL '29.)

24. Show how far Italy was indebted to either France or Prussia for the success of her national movement. (OL '30, NUJB '32.)
25. Consider the influence of the reign of Frederick William IV on the history of (a) Prussia, (b) Germany as a whole. (LM '24.)
26. Trace the stages by which Bismarck brought about the unification of Germany under Prussia between 1862 and 1871. (LM '26, NUJB '31.)
27. To what extent was Bismarck justified by events in his view that only a policy of "blood and iron" could bring about German unification? (NUJB '32.)
28. How were Bismarck's statesmanship and political foresight illustrated by his settlement after the Austro-Prussian War? (LGS '24.)
29. Trace the steps by which Prussia gradually ousted Austria from the leadership of Germany. (OL '32.)
30. Describe the attempts to deal with the Schleswig-Holstein question. How far do you consider the final settlement a just one? (LM '22, '23.)
31. Indicate the main objects of Austrian policy between 1850 and 1871, and consider whether they were achieved. (LM '23.)
32. Mark the chief stages in the transformation of Austria between 1849 and 1867. (LM '25.)
33. What were the main elements of Prussian strength and Austrian weakness which contributed to the result of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866? (LGS '22.)
34. On what occasions and for what reasons did Austria and Prussia come into conflict in the nineteenth century? (LM '32.)
35. Explain the importance of (a) the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce (1860) and (b) the reorganisation of Austro-Hungary in 1867-68. (NUJB '32.)
36. In what ways did Spanish affairs influence European politics, 1820-70? (LM '24.)
37. What were the chief difficulties of Napoleon III's position as Emperor of the French, and into what blunders did they lead him during the second decade of his reign? (LGS '23.)
38. What benefits did Napoleon III confer on France, and why did his strength and popularity in France decline? (OC '30.)
39. Indicate the chief reasons for the early successes and eventual failure of the Second Empire in France (1852-70). (LM '23.)
40. Discuss the responsibility for the Franco-German War, and point out the chief reasons for the success of Germany. (LM '22.)
41. Distinguish the various causes for the defeat of the French in the Franco-German War, and estimate their relative importance. (LGS '23, LM '24.)
42. Show how the course of the Franco-Prussian War was affected by the capitulations of (a) Sedan, (b) Metz, (c) Paris. (OL '32.)
43. Show the military and political importance of the Franco-Prussian War. (NUJB '32.)
44. How did the North German Confederation become the German Empire of 1871? (OC '30.)
45. Discuss the contention that the Germans showed themselves good treaty-makers in 1866 and 1871. (LM '24.)
46. What was the form of government of pre-war Germany, and why did the government take that form? (CL '32.)

PERIOD V

THE ARMED PEACE

(1871-1914)

The Franco-German War made a sharper line of division in European history than most events thus adopted by historians. In our Period IV Imperial France was the hub round which the affairs of Europe turned, and the main interest was the creation of nation-states ; but during Period V we shall find Imperial Germany the dominant Power, and the most notable phenomenon will be the rivalry between nation-states. The hidden cause of this rivalry was mainly economic—the hunger for material wealth, the search for foreign markets, the demand for overseas possessions ; but its outward expression was the growth of armaments. Darwin's epoch-making book, " The Origin of Species " (1859), had a profound influence on this generation, even on men who had never heard of it, making them feel that the " struggle for existence " among the nations would result in " the survival of the fittest." The doctrine that the citizen's first duty is to the State, and that the State's first duty is to strive with other States for wealth and strength, spread from Bismarckian Germany all over the Continent.

As the Period goes on, we shall see these inter-State rivalries leading (a) to the gradual polarisation of the Powers into hostile groups, and (b) to the emergence of the three main causes of the cataclysm which brought the period to a violent conclusion : Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans, Anglo-German naval competition, and Franco-German bitterness over Alsace-Lorraine.

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

1871-1879

§ 153. THE COMMUNE.—The National Assembly which had been elected to accept Bismarck's peace-terms on behalf of the French nation (§ 152) met at Bordeaux on 14th February 1871. The majority of the deputies were monarchists—either “Legitimists,” who favoured the old line of kings in the person of the Comte de Chambord, or “Orleanists,” who wanted the son of Louis-Philippe on the throne. Yet neither of these claimants had much support in the nation. The real reason for the monarchist majority was that the fiery Gambetta had urged the electors to vote for republican candidates opposed to the acceptance of the German terms. The nation as a whole wanted peace at almost any price ; and as to vote for republicans seemed like voting for more war, they voted for monarchists.

In any case such questions had to be postponed until more urgent matters had been settled. So the Assembly accepted for the time being the Republic proclaimed in Paris on the fall of the Empire (§ 150) ; and nominated Thiers, the veteran statesman who had been in the public eye for forty years, as “Chief of the Executive Power.”

After ratifying the preliminaries of peace, the Assembly moved to Versailles. This was a snub for Paris, which had been the seat of government ever since 1789 ; but the vast majority of the deputies represented provincial France, and distrusted the capital from which had come so many revolutions, clamours for war, and national miseries. This distrust was intensified by the excited, restless spirit of working-class Parisians. The privations of the siege, when thousands had died of hunger and cold, had left the survivors in a state of feverish irresponsibility. In this mood they were carried away by Socialist agitators,

including many old revolutionaries who had been so embittered by their failure to set up a real "social democracy" in 1848 (§ 115). After twenty years of stern repression, it seemed that at long last they had the means to win power and realise their ideals; for the National Guard had been allowed to keep its weapons after the capitulation of Paris, and almost the whole adult male population of the city was enrolled in it. The Assembly now embittered the situation by two harsh decrees. During the siege the National Guard had been paid at the rate of one and a half francs a day, and a moratorium had been declared for rents and debts; but in March both these privileges were suddenly withdrawn, leaving thousands of unemployed workpeople utterly destitute. The first blood was shed when the Assembly sent a regiment to take possession of some guns parked near Paris. Crowds gathered round, mingling with the soldiers, and when the officers tried to carry out their orders, some of them were taken and shot.

The revolutionists now set up a "General Council of the Commune of Paris," consisting of seventy-eight members elected from the working-class quarters of the city. They had no very definite programme beyond (1) the overthrow of the "reactionary" Versailles Government, and (2) a proposal that each commune of France should become practically independent and autonomous, so that the conservative peasantry should have no motive for interfering with the "red-flag" Utopia which they were going to set up in Paris. They sent a corps of the National Guard to disperse the Assembly by force; but by this time Thiers had collected a national army, 150,000 strong, consisting mainly of returned prisoners of war. The attack was dispersed, and the leading Communards who fell into the hands of the troops were executed out of hand. Thus began a ferocious civil war under the very eyes of the Germans occupying the country round, who looked on with contemptuous amusement. As a reprisal for the execution of their comrades the Communards arrested a number of prominent men—bishops, judges and officials—as hostages. In the middle of

April there began a second siege of Paris. It lasted only five weeks, but it caused far more bloodshed and destruction than the five months of the German siege. On 21st May the troops found an unguarded gate and swarmed into the city. In the course of the seven days' street battle (*La Semaine Sanglante*) which followed, there were no fewer than 17,000 casualties. In a frenzy of despair, the Communards set fire to the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Palais-Royal and the Law Courts, and the Seine ran between walls of fire. The Archbishop of Paris was killed while trying to stop the carnage; the hostages were shot; the troops refused all quarter. When the last of the rebels were rounded up, 13,000 of them were deported to Guiana, and the revolutionary party lay crushed.

§ 154. RECOVERY AND REORGANISATION.—As soon as this fearful crisis was over Thiers set about the tremendous task of building up from the ruins of the Second Empire a stable government based on sound finances and a reliable system of national defence. His first aim was to liberate the soil from the presence of ex-enemy troops. The Treaty of Frankfort, ratified a few days after the collapse of the Commune, gave France three years in which to pay off the war-indemnity of five milliards of francs (approximately £200,000,000), and the German Army of Occupation was to be withdrawn in stages proportionate to the amount forthcoming each year. But so ready was the response of the nation to the Government's call for loans that two milliards were paid off in 1871, and twenty times that amount was offered in the following year, with the result that the Germans were cleared out over a year before the specified time. This was a triumphant manifestation of the wealth, vitality and patriotism of the French nation; and Germany, having hoped to reduce France to helpless exhaustion for decades, was not a little chagrined. It was largely due to the energy of Thiers, who well deserved the honourable designation of "Liberator of the Fatherland" bestowed on him by the Assembly.

To cover the interest due on these loans and the cost of the war, the Government required a great increase of revenue. The republicans proposed that this should be raised by an income tax in imitation of Britain; but the Assembly maintained the traditional system of indirect taxation, and imposed excise duties on articles of common consumption such as matches and paper, and stamp duties on railway tickets and receipts.

Next, the army was drastically overhauled. The National Guard was disbanded and a system of universal service was adopted like that which had given such strength to Germany. By the Military Law of 1872 every Frenchman was liable to service between the ages of twenty and forty. He remained with the colours for five years or six months, according to lot, followed by periods in the Active Reserve, the Territorial Army, and the Territorial Reserve successively.

§ 155. THE ATTEMPTED RESTORATION.—On all these matters there was complete agreement between Thiers and the Assembly, but as soon as the question of the future government came up a conflict began.

Although the Assembly had been elected merely to make peace with Germany, it had not dissolved when that was done, and in spite of the protests of the republican minority it assumed that it had the right to adopt a new constitution for France. It authorised Thiers to assume the title of "President of the Republic," yet it was obvious that the royalists intended to restore the monarchy as soon as they could. They postponed dealing with the problem month after month, owing to the divergence amongst them as to which branch of the Royal Family should be restored. Meanwhile Thiers himself, who had throughout his career been in favour of constitutional monarchy, had gradually changed his views. We have seen that the composition of the Assembly did not really represent the wishes of the nation on this subject, and at by-elections royalists were nearly always replaced by republicans. This, coupled with

the dissensions among the royalists, convinced him that a republic was the form of government which would divide the nation least, so long as it eschewed any leanings towards Socialism (N75).

After the passing of the Military Law, he insisted that the Assembly should delay no longer in tackling the constitutional question. But it rejected his proposals for a republic, protested against his taking part in debates, and called upon him to maintain "a resolutely conservative policy." Thereupon he resigned, hoping that it would feel that he was indispensable and would be compelled by this action to bow to his will. This was a miscalculation. The royalist majority accepted his resignation, and promptly appointed Marshal MacMahon in his place (May 1873).

Then they hastily set about working for a restoration. MacMahon took as Premier the Orleanist Duc de Broglie, who prepared the way by the wholesale dismissal of republican officials throughout the country. The Martial Law which had been proclaimed in the crisis of 1871 was still in force, and this enabled the Government to suppress journals, to close clubs, and to deport opponents on charges of being concerned in the communist disturbances of that year. Legitimists and Orleanists now came to an understanding known as the "Fusion," by which the childless Comte de Chambord was to be called to the throne, with the Orleanist candidate, the Comte de Paris, as heir-apparent. Everything seemed to be settled, and the very bonfires had been prepared to celebrate the return of the Bourbon to mount the throne of his ancestors, when there was an unforeseen hitch. Chambord insisted that the traditional *drapeau blanc* of the old monarchy should be substituted for the *tricolore*. This was utterly impossible. The people of France associated with the *tricolore* not only the liberty gained in 1789 but all the glory won by French armies since. As MacMahon said, the *chassepots* would go off of themselves if the White Flag was flaunted before them. A deputation hurried off to Chambord's place of exile in Austria to beseech him to

reconsider his decision, but he was obdurate. He would rather remain where he was, he said, than be "a king of the Revolution." So the whole project fell through.

§ 156. THE THIRD REPUBLIC.—Nevertheless the monarchists did not despair. Chambord was an elderly man, and when he died the way would be cleared for the Orleanist candidate. Meanwhile MacMahon would carry on as a sort of caretaker. An Act called the *Septennat* was passed making him President for seven years, in the hope that before the expiry of that term the desired event would have taken place.

But this was reckoning without their opponents. In spite of—perhaps partly because of—the bitter persecution by the Broglie Ministry, republicanism grew more rampant as time went on. Gambetta, "the commercial traveller of the Republic," rushed from town to town, making eloquent speeches, holding conferences, and gaining thousands of adherents, especially among the humbler *bourgeoisie* and the artisan class. His immediate object was to force the Assembly to fix the constitution, for in the existing circumstances this could hardly take any form but a republic. The number of republican members in the Assembly grew steadily, and the municipal elections at the end of 1874 were taken as a sort of unofficial plebiscite. The results made it obvious that the nation was republican at heart, and the monarchists sulkily allowed the passing of a series of "CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS," one by one. By the end of the following year it had been settled that a Senate was to be elected for nine years by local councillors, and a Chamber of Deputies for four years by universal suffrage; and that the two Houses were to combine to choose the President, who was to hold office for seven years. A Ministry could hold office only so long as it enjoyed the confidence of the Chamber, which wielded the "power of the purse," as in England. The President could not dissolve the Chamber before the expiry of its four years without the consent of the Senate. Even now it was claimed that this was merely a temporary arrangement; but the

opportunity for setting up a monarchy never came, and the "Laws" have remained in force ever since.

Then at long last the National Assembly dissolved itself, and in February 1876 the first elections under the new constitution took place. They resulted in a small royalist majority in the Senate, but a big republican majority in the Chamber. The President had to take a Republican Ministry under Jules Simon, but there was constant friction, and in 1877 Simon was compelled to resign. Thereupon MacMahon chose the Orleanist Broglie as Premier, and dissolved the Chamber with the support of the Senate. The ensuing General Election was the most momentous in the history of France. The royalists made tremendous efforts, and put forward "official candidates" who were actively supported by the clergy. This last circumstance had unfortunate results, for it confirmed the feeling that the Church was hostile to the Republic. "Le clericalisme—voilà l'ennemi!" said Gambetta, and that feeling prevailed for many years to come. When he went on to declare that the President would either have to give way or retire, the Government prosecuted him, and he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Nevertheless, the election was a sweeping victory for republicanism, and by the beginning of 1879 it gained a majority in the Senate as well. Rather than be the titular head of a Government which was opposed to all that he held most sacred, MacMahon resigned. Grévy, a staid republican of conservative type, was chosen in his place, Gambetta became President of the Chamber, and the new Government's first acts were to return to Paris, and to appoint 14th July (the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille) as a national holiday.

The Third Republic was definitely established at last. Several times during the next twenty years it seemed to be in danger; but it survived all these shocks, it carried France through the Great War, and to-day it is more firmly fixed than any other constitution in Europe, save our own.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AGAIN

1875-1879

§ 157. IMPERIAL GERMANY.—The Franco-German War which had destroyed one Empire had created another. Germany had been welded together by blood and iron, and she continued to rely on sheer military force to maintain her position as a Great Power. Consequently all the other states of the Continent had to imitate her in becoming “nations in arms” by means of conscription. Moreover, her annexation of Alsace-Lorraine made people feel that another war was bound to come, sooner or later. All through the next forty years European statesmen always had this disturbing thought at the back of their minds. Moreover, the smaller states on Germany’s frontiers—the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Luxembourg—were apprehensive lest Bismarck should use the military strength at his disposal to pursue the PAN-GERMAN ideal of incorporating all peoples of Teutonic stock within the Empire. In this they were mistaken. He was quite sincere when he said that Germany was “satiated”—she had all the territory she wanted, at any rate for the time being, and for the next twenty years was concerned merely to keep her position and develop her resources.

Bismarck’s own position as Imperial Chancellor and President of the Prussian Council of Ministers was unassailably strong. No other minister, either of the Kingdom or of the Empire, could gain access to the King-Emperor save through him; and he had such a hold over the mind and heart of the old sovereign that in any conflict of policy he could always get his way by threatening to resign.

Yet he was nervous about France. The recovery of the Republic under Thiers put out all his calculations; and at one

time (1875) it seemed as if he intended to precipitate another war before she got any stronger, and crush her so completely that it would be impossible for her to renew her rivalry to Germany for a century or more. His main preoccupation in foreign policy from 1870 till his fall twenty years later was to prevent her ever being in a position to wage a "war of revenge." She could never venture upon this without an ally, and he set to work to isolate her by the methods in which he had already shown such skill. He now reaped the benefit of the wise leniency he had shown towards Austria after the Seven Weeks' War (§ 140). In the autumn of 1871 the Emperor William paid a visit to Francis Joseph, which was returned the following year. As Bismarck had foreseen, this made the Czar (Alexander II) nervous lest he should be "left out in the cold." He contrived to be invited to Berlin while the Austrian Emperor was still there, and the conversations which ensued led to the "LEAGUE OF THE THREE EMPERORS" (*Dreikaiserbund*). It was not definite enough to deserve to be called a League, however. No document was signed, and no precise obligations were assumed. It was merely a general understanding that the three parties would act together in matters which they all had at heart—to preserve peace, and to check the spread of Socialism and Republicanism. It was the ghost of the Holy Alliance returning to its old haunts. The reprobation of Republicanism had particular reference to France, of course. The simple-minded Emperor William, who believed in monarchy as an article of religion, had encouraged the German ambassador at Paris, Count Arnim, to support the royalist party there; but Bismarck feared that the other Powers would be readier to support a brother-monarch than a Republic. He wrote to Arnim: "It is not our policy to strengthen France and make her an eligible ally for our present friends by the establishment of a legitimate monarchy." And when Arnim persisted in his intrigues, the Chancellor insisted on his dismissal.

§ 158. PAN-SLAVISM *v.* *DRANG NACH OSTEN*.—The so-called League of the Three Emperors could not solidify, for two of

the three had aims that were fundamentally antagonistic. The "Eastern Question," which had raised such difficulties over Greek Independence in the 'twenties (§ 96), and had caused the Crimean War during the 'fifties (§ 129), now led during the 'seventies to a third crisis ; and this time it was complicated both by a nationalist movement in Russia and by a new turn in the foreign policy of Austria.

The Czar Alexander II (1855-1881), though as determined as his predecessor Nicholas to maintain his autocratic power, was aware that in social and political life his people were a century behind western Europe. He abolished serfdom and established village councils (*zemstvos*) for local affairs (N69). Moreover, even a despot is not altogether independent of public opinion, and among the aristocratic and official classes who formed his *entourage* patriotism was becoming a ruling passion. The humiliations of the Crimean War made them long for some balm for wounded national pride ; and the recent "getting together" of the Italian and German races had caused this feeling to take the form of PAN-SLAVISM, which aimed at bringing the Slavonic peoples of the Balkans into closer union with their Russian cousins. Missionaries of the movement were at work in Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro, stimulating racial consciousness in much the same way as the *Hetairia Philike* had worked among the Greeks fifty years earlier (§ 96). And mingled with this Pan-Slavism was the old ambition of the Romanoffs—seldom mentioned, sometimes denied, but always haunting them—to dominate the eastern Mediterranean and get hold of Constantinople. That city was not only ideally situated to be the capital of an Empire which now stretched from the Baltic to the Pacific ; it would be a warm-water port which ships could use at all seasons of the year. The Czar had taken a preliminary step in this direction by repudiating the neutrality of the Black Sea (N65).

But these impulses inevitably brought Russia into conflict with Austria. Millions of Hapsburg subjects were of Serbian race, and the Pan-Slav movement made these Austrian Serbs

and Croats restless under the rule of Vienna. Moreover, after the Seven Weeks' War, Bismarck had suggested to the Austro-Hungarian Government that, having now forfeited its old leadership in central Europe, it should seek compensation by a development of its power and influence in the Balkan peninsula (§ 141). The Emperor Francis Joseph took the hint, and appointed as Chancellor a Hungarian named ANDRASSY, who was an eager supporter of this policy.

§ 159. MORE BALKAN REVOLTS.—The Sultan made scarcely any attempt to carry out his lavish promises of better government after the Crimean War (§ 131). The taxes were farmed out to officials who forwarded a fixed amount and wrung as much more as they could out of the wretched peasants—often a third of their crops. Only Mohammedans were eligible for official posts—Christians were not allowed even to give evidence in courts of justice, and could only get a semblance of fair play from the Turkish judges by exorbitant bribes. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the peasants felt their position the more acutely by comparison with their brethren in Serbia; for the latter, though still nominally subject to the Sultan, were free from the worst of these grievances. Thus it was Bosnia that now broke into revolt. The harvest of 1874 had been a total failure, yet the tax-gatherers extorted their usual dues with ruthless severity; and the murder of one of them led to a riot which developed into a general rebellion demanding union with Serbia.

The Ottoman Government was so inefficient that the movement continued unchecked for months, and Austria became alarmed lest it should spread to her own South Slavs. With the co-operation of Russia and Prussia, Count Andrassy drew up a memorandum calling upon the Sultan to pacify his Balkan subjects by a series of reforms to be carried out under the supervision of the Powers. France and Italy signified their agreement with this line of policy, but to the astonishment and dismay of the others, Great Britain demurred. Disraeli, who

was now Prime Minister, had always had a fondness for the Turk, and had inherited the Russophobe prejudices of Palmerston. He declared that his Government could not support any policy which would impair the sovereign independence of our old ally the Sultan. If the Powers had been able to present a united front, the Sultan would have been obliged to give way ; but the whole scheme now fell to the ground. The situation was ominously similar to that which had preceded the Crimean War, except that British action was now unsupported.

Just at this moment the Bulgarians revolted in sympathy with the Bosnians ; but here an energetic Turkish governor crushed the movement and followed up his success by atrocities designed to cow the people from repeating their attempt. Within three weeks eighty Bulgarian villages had been destroyed and 20,000 men, women and children had been slaughtered, including hundreds burned alive in tar-smearcd churches.

This time the Turk had gone a little too far. The news of these horrors made the whole of Christendom feel that some permanent remedy must be found for the Balkan situation. Gladstone, who had announced his retirement from politics, rushed back into the fray with a pamphlet called "THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES," in which he called upon Europe to "thrust out the Turks bag and baggage from the provinces they had desolated and profaned" ; and in flaming speeches up and down the country he aroused the national conscience—at any rate for the time being. Disraeli ridiculed the reports from Bulgaria as "coffee-house babble," but even his Conservative Cabinet was divided as to the possibility of continuing to support the Sultan.

Meanwhile a patriotic party at Constantinople, angry at the weakness and slackness which had imperilled the existence of the Ottoman Empire, forced the reigning Sultan to abdicate in favour of ABDUL HAMID, a wily and unscrupulous politician who proved himself fully a match for the statesmen of Europe. Serbia and Montenegro now came to the support of the

Bosnians, but the reorganised Turkish army defeated them and occupied Belgrade. This brought matters to a head. The Czar announced that, to preserve Serbia from annihilation, he must actively intervene—if not with the support of the other Powers, then single-handed. This drove the British Government to suggest that a general conference should be held at Constantinople. It met, deliberated, and drew up a programme of reforms to be imposed on the Sultan, when Abdul checkmated it by a masterpiece of duplicity. He suddenly announced that he had adopted a democratic constitution with an elected Parliament, the “Rights of Man,” popular education and all the rest of it; and he summoned a liberal politician named Mindhat Pasha as Prime Minister. The Conference could not enforce its demands in face of this touching change of heart, and broke up forthwith. Thereupon the Turkish constitution became a dead letter and Mindhat Pasha was driven into exile.

§ 160. THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR.—All hope of voluntary reform on the part of the Sultan being now at an end, the Czar felt obliged to declare war on him. The Russians had not had time since 1871 to build up a war-fleet in the Black Sea, and they were therefore obliged to attack by land; but Rumania took the opportunity to throw off the last remnants of its allegiance to Turkey, and allowed the Russian armies to take a short cut to the Danube.

At first the Czar's forces carried all before them. They crossed the river almost unopposed, and, advancing among friendly Bulgars, forced their way through the passes of the Balkan mountains until, by the middle of July, they were within striking distance of Constantinople. But then came a prolonged and strenuous diversion. The main Turkish armies, thrust aside during the advance of the Russians, now closed in on their lines of communication. In Osman Pasha they had a “heaven-born general,” who turned the open town of PLEVNA into a stronghold which defied all the Russian

attacks for five months. The Czar, who had at first declined the active support of Rumania, now gladly accepted it, and gave command of the besieging force to Prince Charles. When at last Osman was starved out he ended the episode gloriously in a sortie in which he was wounded and captured (December 1877). The Russians now resumed their advance, and in February 1878 they were actually in sight of the minarets of Constantinople. But they were also within sight of something much less pleasant—the masts of British ships of war in the Sea of Marmora. Public opinion in Britain had veered right round, owing to the feeling that if the Russians once got into Constantinople they would never get out again, and that their possession of it would be a perpetual menace to our Indian Empire. Music-hall ditties declared that

“We don’t want to fight, but by jingo if we do,
We’ve got the men, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the money
too!”

And Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield) had the support of the bulk of the nation (and particularly of Queen Victoria) in sending the fleet—ostensibly to protect British life and property in the Turkish capital, but really as a broad hint to the Czar to keep his hands off it. Alexander was in no position for further complications, and he hastened to come to terms with the Sultan. By the Treaty of SAN STEPHANO (March 1878), Serbia and Montenegro were to be independent states with considerable accessions of territory, while Bosnia and Herzegovina were to become vassal-states with Christian governors. Moreover, a new state was to appear on the map—Bulgaria—which was to extend from the Danube right down to the Aegean, to remain nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, but to be administered for the first two years by Russian officials. By way of indemnity for the cost of the war, the Czar was to take Bessarabia from Rumania, which was to be reimbursed by the very inferior Turkish province known as the Dobrudja.

§ 161. THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.—Britain and Austria protested loudly against all this, for Britain feared that the proposed state of Bulgaria would be practically part of Russia, while Austria felt that an enlarged Serbia and a semi-independent Bosnia would be a fatal check to her Balkan ambitions. They claimed that as the frontiers of south-eastern Europe had been regulated by the Powers in concert in 1856 (§ 131), nothing less than a similar conference could alter them. Rumania, bitterly disappointed that her services to the Czar were to be so scurvily requited, made an equally vigorous protest. An Austrian army was mobilised, British troops were concentrated at Malta, and with this encouragement Turkey showed signs of renewing the conflict. So the Czar gave way, and agreed to the San Stephano settlement being laid before a conference of the Powers.

It was held at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck. The latter was anxious that Russia and Austria should reach a settlement without his being compelled to take sides and so break up his *Dreikaiserbund*. Germany, he said, did not want to act as a judge or a schoolmaster among the Powers. Her rôle was to be that of "an honest broker," bent merely on bringing together buyer and seller. Largely owing to his activity and resource, the main lines of the settlement were arranged by secret treaties before the Congress met, and it was only the details that were left for discussion at Berlin. Britain was represented there by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. The former was hampered by ill-health and by ignorance of French (still the universal language of diplomacy); but his political acumen and knowledge of human nature enabled him to intervene at crucial moments with decisive effect, and it was mainly his policy that was embodied in the final treaty. Two-thirds of the proposed new state of Bulgaria were thrust back under the Sultan with the name of "Eastern Rumelia." Bosnia was to remain an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, but was to be administered by Austria. Serbia and Montenegro were to become entirely independent, though their recent territorial acquisitions were to be reduced.

There was great rejoicing in England over what was regarded as a diplomatic defeat of Russia, and Beaconsfield used a grandiloquent phrase about bringing back "PEACE WITH HONOUR"; but the ultimate results of the settlement were not altogether what had been expected.

Take, for example, the subsequent history of Bulgaria. The expectation that it would be "in the pocket" of the Czar was entirely falsified. In accordance with the terms of the treaty Russian officials organised the government and the army, and a relation of the Czar's (Prince Alexander of Battenberg) became its ruler; but a national anti-Russian party grew so strong that the Prince was forced to put himself at its head, and in 1883 the Russian officials were expelled from the country. Two years later "Eastern Rumelia" declared itself united to the rest of Bulgaria. The Powers made a formal protest; but now that it had been demonstrated that the new state was not under Russian influence they took no active steps in the matter, and eventually recognised the "Big Bulgaria." Furthermore, when the Greeks invaded it, claiming a part of Rumelia for themselves, the Powers compelled them to desist by a blockade of their coasts.

Again, the rebuff to Russia in south-eastern Europe impelled that Power to concentrate more than ever on expansion in Asia. The Conquest of Turkestan (1880) brought it into contact with Persia and Afghanistan. British fears for India were redoubled, and this led to a rivalry for influence over those two "buffer states" which was a constant source of anxiety and embarrassment to British Governments for a quarter of a century.

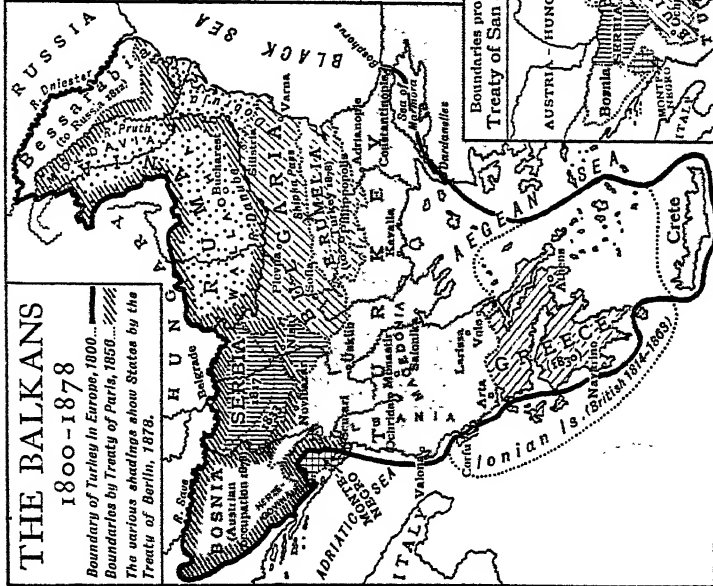
Yet again the encouragement given to the Balkan ambitions of Austria (so obviously supported by Germany) led to perpetual unrest in those regions, culminating in the Great War.

Lastly, although Bismarck had managed to reprieve his *Dreikaiserbund* for a year or two, it was henceforth obviously on its last legs. Though he had claimed to hold the balance evenly between Russia and Austria, he could not disguise that

THE BALKANS

1800-1878

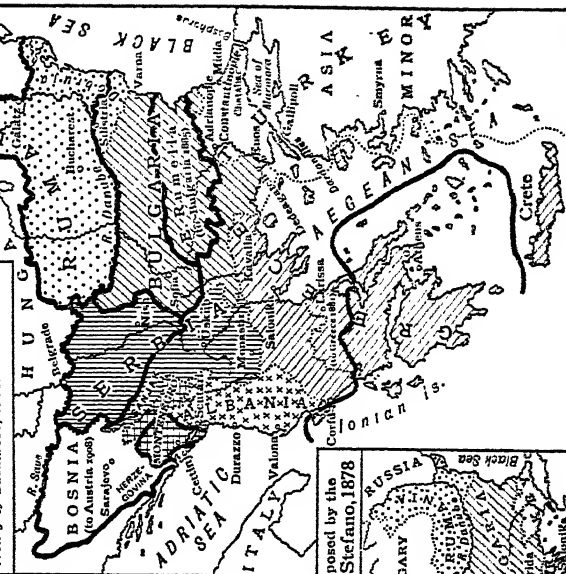
Boundary of Turkey in Europe, 1800.
Boundaries by Treaty of Paris, 1856.
The various shadings show States by the
Treaty of Berlin, 1878.



THE BALKANS

1878-1913

Boundaries in 1878
The various shadings show States by the
Treaty of Bucharest, 1913.



THE BALKANS

1878-1913

Boundaries proposed by the
Treaty of San Stefano, 1878



the good will of the latter was what mattered most to him. Russia felt that he had sided against her and robbed her of the fruits of a hard-won victory in the cause of civilisation, and resented what seemed like ingratitude for the "benevolent neutrality" which she had shown to Prussia during the Franco-German War. Russia and Germany henceforth drifted apart, and the way was prepared for Russia's anti-German *rapprochement* with France a decade later (§ 170).

CHAPTER XXXVII

BISMARCK'S GERMANY

1871-1891

§ 162. THE NEW GERMANY.—Bismarck's success in welding together the German nation made him the dominating figure in Europe for a generation. Cavour, the creator of united Italy, and Lincoln, the re-creator of the United States, both passed from the scene on the morrow of their achievements; but it was given to Bismarck to guide his creation through the first stage of its existence. His master, William I, was over sixty when he became King and seventy-three when he became Emperor. Yet he lived another seventeen years, and as long as he reigned Bismarck's position was secure. For the straightforward, simple-minded, duty-doing old soldier was always staunch to those in whom he put his trust.

Seldom has a minister undertaken such a burdensome and difficult task as now fell to Bismarck. The necessity for a vigorous centralised Government resting on a mighty army was the first article of his political creed; but this militarist "Prussianism" was offensive to the lesser states of south Germany, and also to the "Liberals," who had always been the champions of German unity. Although both as Imperial

Chancellor and as President of the Prussian Ministry he wielded immense authority, yet the parliamentary system of both Empire and Kingdom created complications which demanded political tact of the highest order. And although the financial control exercised by the *Reichstag* was less than that of the British Commons or the French Chamber, yet he could hardly have carried on the government for long without the support of a majority—which meant the reconciling of several of the dozen party-groups into which the 370 members were divided. In the Prussian Government his main support came from the “Junkers,” the conservative land-owning gentry, who, under the three-class constitution (N52), dominated the *Landtag* and supplied most of the higher officials and army officers of the whole Empire. But in the Imperial Government they were less useful; for under the democratic franchise of the *Reich* (N68) they only held about fifty seats, and in any case they were jealous lest their beloved Prussia should lose its identity in this new-fangled “German Empire.” So in Imperial affairs he had to seek the support of a more numerous and more public-spirited group—the “National Liberals,” who came mainly from the populous districts to the west of the Elbe and represented the “big business” of the rising industries. The Liberal tradition had always supported the wider German nationalism, and they also supported the new militarism which provided employment for their arms factories and foundries.

The spiritual change which had begun in Prussia during the 'fifties and 'sixties now spread rapidly to the rest of the Empire. In the eighteenth century Voltaire had said that while France dominated the land and England the sea, Germany only dominated in the clouds. German achievement had hitherto been mainly in the world of ideas—its representative men had been Winckelmann the scholar, Kant the philosopher, Goethe the poet, Beethoven the composer. All this now faded away, and the Germans began to pride themselves on being a nation of realists—of soldiers, factory-owners, engineers.

Power wielded by an autocratic state had made their country great and united, and had won for it military glory and boundless opportunity for material wealth, and they came to look upon this "state" as the most important thing in life. They developed an astonishing genius for practical achievement, for organised effort, for discipline; and their bureaucratic Government strove with intelligent efficiency to further these ends. Schools, universities, factories, government offices—all were regimented to work for the greatness of the Fatherland.

§ 163. THE *KULTURKAMPF*.—Almost the only rebuff that Bismarck experienced during his forty years of public life was in a struggle with the Catholic Church. This was in essence a renewal of the great "Investiture Contest" between the Popes and Emperors of the Middle Ages—the claim of the State to control the Church pitted against the Church's claim to spiritual independence. In this new form it became known as the *Kulturkampf*, owing to an expression used by one of Bismarck's supporters that it was a struggle (*Kampf*) for civilisation (*Kultur*).

The circumstances which gave rise to it were threefold. (1) Prussia was traditionally hostile to Catholicism because, in the long struggle for the mastery of Germany, German Catholics had naturally sided with Austria. (2) The German Catholic clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Mainz, had recently become extremely active among the industrial working-classes, organising them in Christian Social Unions to agitate for reforms—shorter working hours, Sunday rest, factory inspection. This gave great offence to the industrial magnates, who were among the Chancellor's chief supporters. (3) Bismarck's ideal was an all-powerful Government directing all aspects of the national life for its own ends; but the Prussian Constitution made the clergy practically independent of the State. Like Napoleon I, he wanted to get the control of this "spiritual *gendarmérie*," with their vast influence over the minds of their flocks.

A dispute within the Church itself gave him an opportunity. In 1870 a Church Council at Rome had promulgated the doctrine of Papal Infallibility—that the Pope is the ultimate authority on matters of faith and morals. This gave such offence to some German Catholics that, headed by a famous theologian named Döllinger, they formed themselves into a separate sect. These “Old Catholics” were persecuted by the orthodox clergy and appealed to the Government for support. Bismarck declared that by the new doctrine the bishops became the instruments of the most absolute sovereign in the world, claiming authority over matters which intimately concerned the civil government. He began by transferring the inspection of all schools to laymen; the religious orders were forbidden to teach, while the Jesuits were expelled from Germany altogether. When the Pope protested, the German ambassador was withdrawn from the Vatican. Then a series of laws (known as “The MAY LAWS” because they were passed in the Mays of 1873–1875) placed the clergy and their seminaries under State control, required candidates for ordination to be university graduates, made marriage a civil contract, and withheld the stipends of all priests who refused to declare their submission to these regulations. Clergy who actively opposed were expelled from their benefices and even imprisoned. Catholics declared that Bismarck was renewing the persecution of Nero and Diocletian.

Their political resistance was organised by Windthorst, a great orator and an adroit parliamentary tactician. He organised a strong Catholic Party in the Reichstag—“THE CENTRE”; and an ably edited newspaper, “*Germania*,” was founded. German Catholics were of very mixed types—they included patriotic imperialists from the Rhine provinces, irreconcilable Poles and Alsatians, “Separatist” Bavarians; but Windthorst managed to focus their religious zeal into an irresistible force. The Centre Party grew so strong that Bismarck found that he would not be able to carry on the Government unless he came to terms with it. The Pope eased his retreat by tacitly accepting

a temporary compromise. First the operation of the May Laws was suspended (1879); then they were quietly repealed. The expelled clergy gradually returned to their livings, the embassy at the Vatican was restored (1883), the religious orders resumed their activities unmolested. By 1887 the only traces left of the struggle were the right of the Government to inspect all schools—and the permanent establishment of a strong Catholic Party in the Reichstag.

§ 164. SOCIALISTS AND TARIFFS.—Bismarck's withdrawal from the contest with the Church was connected with the beginning of another political campaign—against Socialism. The Industrial Revolution had come upon Germany with a rush, causing overcrowded towns, and wages sometimes as low as 8s. for a week of 72 hours. One of the most notable features of mass-production, in Germany as elsewhere, was the recurrence of trade-depressions, causing widespread unemployment and destitution. One such "slump" came in 1874, as a result of the war-indemnity from France, which stimulated a too-rapid expansion followed by disastrous bankruptcies; and another—common to all western Europe—came in 1877-1878. All this gave a great stimulus to the Socialist movement which had appeared in Germany during the 'sixties. In the Rhine provinces the leader was Lasalle, who adopted much of the teaching of Louis Blanc (§ 111); but in Saxony, under Liebknecht, the prevailing doctrine was Marxism (N71)—far more drastic and revolutionary. For a time the movement was weakened by this schism between moderates aiming at the improvement of the lot of the workers under the existing capitalist system, and extremists who wanted to sweep away that system altogether. But in 1875 a conference at Gotha created a united SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC Party which held annual congresses, organised the election of members to the Reichstag, and produced a great newspaper—"Vorwärts."

Bismarck detested Socialism, and an attack on it would be a good pretext for abandoning the hopeless contest with Rome.

Two attempts on the life of the King-Emperor in 1878, though neither of the assailants was a member of the Socialist Party, gave an excuse for rushing through severe laws of repression. Socialist meetings and associations were banned, subversive journals were suppressed, and the Government was empowered to put districts under martial law. The highly efficient German police applied these laws ruthlessly for twelve years, and the Socialist movement was thrust underground.

But the Chancellor was too wise to rely on mere repression. He tried to reconcile the working-class to the existing economic system by measures designed to improve their conditions of life—to cure them of the tendency to Socialism by homœopathic doses of the disease itself in the form of STATE SOCIALISM. Laws were passed providing Compulsory Insurance against sickness (1883) and accidents (1884), and Old Age Pensions (1888), the payment of premiums being divided between the State, the employers and the workers in much the same way that was adopted twenty-five years later in Britain. But the opposition was not appeased. The premiums were a heavy drain on the slender wages of the workers, the employers in the *Reichstag* whittled down the concessions, and frauds were disclosed in the administration. Thus in spite of severities and cajoleries the Socialist movement continued to thrive. Its headquarters were moved to Switzerland, whence publications were smuggled into Germany and circulated surreptitiously, and local organisations were preserved under the guise of Choral Unions, and so on. By the time of Bismarck's retirement from office the Social Democratic Party polled one and a half million votes in the elections to the *Reichstag*.

The years 1878-1879 were a turning-point in Bismarck's career as Chancellor. Not only did he then begin to persecute Socialists instead of Catholics, he also reversed his economic policy and his political alliances. "*Junker*" coolness about the Empire and the hostility of the Catholic Party had hitherto compelled him to rely on the support of the National Liberals—

mainly industrialists who supported a policy of modified Free Trade, like their counterparts in England. But the need for increased revenue to support the growing army and to pay for social insurance, coupled with the example of France flourishing under Thiers' policy of Protection, converted him to high tariffs. He had always felt uncomfortable in alliance with a party which aimed at increased powers for Parliament. The dropping of the *Kulturkampf* enabled him to gain the support of the powerful new *Centrum*, while the *Junkers* (the social class to which he himself belonged) were delighted at corn-duties which would eliminate the competition of America and Russia with the crops grown on their estates. One by one he dropped his Liberal ministers and replaced them by Catholics or Conservatives. This new coalition eagerly supported anti-Socialist legislation, and had no objection to insurance schemes which annoyed factory-owners.

§ 165. THE YOUNG CAPTAIN DROPS THE OLD PILOT.—Yet these domestic problems were a mere side-issue with the Chancellor: his main concern was always with foreign affairs. As we have seen, his policy was conservative—above all to prevent France from ever being in a position to wage a war of revenge. When the Congress of Berlin broke up the *Dreikaiserbund* and left the Czar indignant at Prussia's "ingratitude" (§ 161), Bismarck felt that he must take precautions against an attack from the east. So in August 1879 he arranged a formal alliance with Austria, by which each Power undertook to come to the aid of the other if attacked by Russia. Two years later the French occupation of Tunis (N72)—cunningly encouraged by Bismarck himself to that end—seemed like a threat to the security of Italy. King Humbert (who had succeeded Victor Emmanuel in 1878) asked for admittance to the Austro-German circle, and after a show of reluctance Bismarck consented. He had a poor opinion of the fighting value of the Italian army, but it would at least draw off French troops to the Alpine frontier in the event of another Franco-German war. Thus

was formed the TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1882), which loomed so large in European politics for the next twenty-five years.

A year or two later he contrived by a masterpiece of diplomatic cunning to complete the isolation of France. The old Emperor William had only been bludgeoned into consenting to the anti-Russian alliance with Austria by one of Bismarck's threats of resignation. Moreover, the Czar Alexander II had recently been assassinated by a Nihilist bomb (1881), and his successor, Alexander III, was eager for a reconciliation. The Chancellor had therefore little difficulty in bringing about what he called a REINSURANCE TREATY, by which each of the three Emperors agreed to maintain a benevolent neutrality if any of them made war on a fourth Power (*i.e.* France). Thus Russia was tied to the tail of the Triple Alliance. The treaty was to last for three years in the first instance, but was renewable.

Bismarck's position was always dependent on the life of his old master, for he had never been on good terms with the Crown Prince. Frederick had played a conspicuous part at Sadowa and Sedan, but he was not so absorbed in soldiering as his father. He was much influenced by the Crown Princess, the daughter of Queen Victoria, who had been brought up in an atmosphere of English "Constitutionalism." Full of "Liberal" sympathies, he was ready to extend parliamentary powers, was opposed to militarism, and was prepared to go much further than either the Emperor or the Chancellor in social legislation. Consequently they had always excluded him from an active part in the Government, and had relegated him to military commands in distant parts of the Empire. All liberal-minded men in Germany and elsewhere looked forward to great changes when he came to the throne. They had to wait for a long time, however, for the old Emperor William seemed to be immortal. When at last he died (March 1888) it was too late, for Frederick was in the last stages of a fatal disease which carried him off in the following June after a reign that was three months of agony.

The character of his twenty-eight-year-old son, who now

became WILLIAM II, was fated to be an important factor in shaping the destinies of Europe from that day to this. He was imbued with an out-of-date belief in Divine Right which went to his head like strong wine. Vain, exuberant, impulsive, restless, gifted with superficial cleverness and unbounded self-confidence, he enjoyed his position more than any other man that was ever born to an Imperial throne. His army, and his power at the head of it, was hardly ever out of his consciousness. Bismarck and his friends breathed freely again at his accession, but their satisfaction was short-lived. The young Kaiser announced in so many words that henceforth there was going to be only one master in Germany—himself. He refused to renew the Reinsurance Treaty when it expired in 1890, thereby disintegrating at a blow the diplomatic fabric which the great Chancellor had been at such pains to create. He summoned an international conference to discuss labour-problems in the teeth of Bismarck's opposition. He ignored the Chancellor's claim to be the sole channel of communication between the Crown and subordinate ministers, and rebuked him for negotiating on his own responsibility with opposition leaders in the *Reichstag*. When Bismarck played his well-tryed card of resignation, it was accepted with insulting alacrity. All Europe was aghast at the temerity of the inexperienced captain in thus dropping the pilot who had steered the ship of Empire with such triumphant success since its launching; but he had no qualms of self-distrust. How the course which he now lay carried the ship on to the rocks we shall shortly see.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

1880-1890

§ 166. NEW AIMS.—The Industrial Revolution which had transformed the economic life of England during the long reign of George III had for a long time little counterpart in continental countries. The wealth produced by mass-manufacture had enabled Britain to be the paymaster of her allies during the French wars, and it has been well said that the mills of the northern and midland counties of England were the hidden reef on which the Napoleonic Empire foundered. Industrialism began to make headway in France and in Belgium after 1815; but in Germany it developed so slowly that as late as 1844 a German statesman said that his country could never have any counterpart to British "Chartism," inasmuch as she had no industrial population. The quickening of communications by railways, steamships, cheap postage and telegraphs, the development of banking, and the organisation of capital in Limited Liability Companies, were all so bound up with commercial enterprise that Britain took the lead in these matters too.

Until after the Franco-German War the continental Governments scarcely realised how much their wealth and therefore their strength depended on industrial prosperity. The age of liberalism and nationalism was now succeeded by an age of commercialism and imperialism. For with industrial enterprise now growing up in all these countries simultaneously, it was impossible for them to live "by taking in each other's washing." They needed non-European possessions from which to obtain supplies of raw material and as markets for their finished produce. But when they looked round in the 'seventies they realised that three immense economic units had

come into existence during the past half-century. Russia had spread eastwards across northern Asia to the Pacific, while the United States had spread westwards to the opposite shores of the same ocean; and a new British Empire had grown up in each of the five continents and each of the Seven Seas. The continental Powers began to feel out of scale with these World-Empires in much the same way as Italian city-states must have felt at the end of the fifteenth century when they looked up from their internecine struggles at the new nation-states of Spain and France. Preoccupation with internal affairs and frontier disputes now gave place to an urge towards colonial acquisitions.

In many respects mankind has been the gainer by these activities, which have spread increased wealth—*i.e.* commodities for use and enjoyment—into every corner of the globe. But it is unfortunate that nations should have carried their jealousies into this new sphere, by erecting tariff walls to keep out each other's goods and by feverishly competing for overseas possessions around which they could erect similar barriers. We shall now see that these economic rivalries had a most disturbing effect on European history, until they culminated in the Great War.

§ 167. EGYPTIAN ENTANGLEMENTS.—The first scene of conflict was northern Africa. France had conquered ALGERIA after a long and fluctuating struggle begun under Charles X (§ 99), continued under Louis-Philippe, and only ended under Napoleon III. Her interest in Egypt went back still further—to the expedition of Napoleon I. There had ever since been a considerable French population there, and much French money was invested in the country. This connection was drawn still closer when a French engineer named de Lesseps undertook, with capital provided partly by French banks and partly by the Khedive, to cut the Suez Canal. Britain was unrepresented at the festivities which marked its formal opening in 1869; for British statesmen—particularly Lord

Palmerston—had opposed the scheme tooth and nail. They foresaw that the canal would become a vital artery of Empire routes, that Egypt would have this artery at its mercy, and that Britain would sooner or later be forced into a conflict with France for its control.

This forecast was speedily justified. The reigning Khedive Ismail (1863-1879) was a reckless spendthrift. Fascinated by the development of European civilisation, he promoted railways, telegraphs, harbours and irrigation-works; but of all western inventions the one that charmed him most was the credit system. He had no idea of the value of money, and borrowed vast sums from French, British, Italian and German banks. At last it became impossible for him to meet the annual interest on these loans, even when extra taxation was extorted from the luckless peasantry with whips of rhinoceros hide. He kept the wolf from the door for a time by selling his Suez Canal shares to Britain, for Disraeli saw that, now that the canal was made, Britain must gain control of it. But the £4,000,000 thus acquired soon disappeared in the bottomless pit of Ismail's indebtedness, and in 1876 he declared himself bankrupt. The foreign holders of his bonds put pressure on their respective Governments to intervene and save them from losing their money. The result was an international *Caisse de la Dette* established in Cairo, into which the Khedive had to pay his revenue, so that the interest on his debts might be the first claim on it. Furthermore, he had to consent to a "DUAL CONTROL" by French and British officials over his finances. A few months later a mutiny in the Egyptian army, led by an officer named Arabi Pasha, developed into a national revolt against the foreigners who were sucking up the wealth of the country. A number of Europeans were killed in a riot at Alexandria, and a Franco-British fleet was sent to prevent the rebels from fortifying the city.

Just at this moment there was a change in the French Government. The adventurous colonial policy which had carried France into the Dual Control, had also led to the

conquest of TUNIS (N72), the semi-savage inhabitants of which had long molested French Algeria. Bismarck had suggested this to France at the Congress of Berlin, in the secret hope that it would offend Italy, and so further his schemes for isolating France. Italy herself had long cherished designs on Tunis, which is only fifty miles from her own coasts, and we have already seen how France's action drove her into the arms of the Triple Alliance, as Bismarck had planned (§ 165). France was alarmed at this unforeseen result of her forward policy; the Gambetta Ministry was overthrown, and replaced by one which carried the reaction against that policy so far as to refuse to support Britain any further over Egypt. The Gladstone Government, though all in favour of peace and non-interference, was reluctantly compelled to act alone, lest the Khedive should be overthrown and the canal made unsafe for British shipping. Arabi was defeated by General Wolseley at Tel-el-Kebir (1882). The authority of the Khedive was now restored under the guidance of British officials and his army reorganised by British officers, on the understanding that as soon as the Egyptian Government could maintain itself without these props, they should be withdrawn. The tasks were carried through with remarkable efficiency and tact; but as the years went by and the British showed no sign of evacuating Egypt, the French grew increasingly annoyed. They had only themselves to thank that they were not taking a full share in the work, but they were naturally vexed at seeing Britain in control of a country with which they had so long been connected. The result was long-continued friction and ill-feeling.

§ 168. THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA.—Central Africa had always been closed to Europeans by its fever-ridden coastal districts. Even the great rivers, which might otherwise have been highways of exploration, were obstructed by rapids and falls where the central tableland drops to the low-lying littoral. Not till the middle of the nineteenth century did Europeans begin to overcome these obstacles—mainly in the

interests of science or of religion. Among the earliest of these pioneers were Speke and Baker, who travelled through Somaliland and discovered the Great Lakes, eventually solving the age-old problem of the sources of the Nile; a German botanist named Schweinfurth who explored Abyssinia; and Nachtigal, another German, who made his way through the Libyan and Saharan deserts to Lake Chad.

But the real starting-point of European interest in the continent was the work of David Livingstone, the most famous missionary since St. Paul. He travelled northwards from the Cape, establishing mission-stations, until he reached the Zambesi, which he explored from end to end. When on his third great journey he disappeared for several years, an American newspaper sent an expedition under an adventurous journalist named H. M. Stanley to find him. Stanley succeeded, but Livingstone refused to be "rescued," and died a few years later among his black converts.

Stanley, however, had been bitten by the fascination of African exploration, and a year or two later led a great expedition to solve some of the problems of Central African geography. Starting from Zanzibar, he passed round Lake Tanganyika, and reached the upper waters of the Congo, which he followed down to the coast, after incredible hardships, dangers and difficulties. On his return he wrote a book, *Through Darkest Africa*, disclosing the fact that these regions were capable of almost unlimited commercial exploitation; but the only person to take much notice was Leopold II, King of the Belgians. Leopold founded an "International Association of the Congo" to develop these natural products by native labour, financed mainly from his private purse. When he sent Stanley out again in 1879 to establish trading-stations, the rubber, palm-oil, timber and ivory which were forthcoming opened the eyes of Europe, and countries fell over each other in their anxiety for a share of the wealth. Portugal made claims based on the discovery of the mouth of the river four centuries earlier; a French explorer named de Brazza came into conflict with

Stanley's Belgian activities ; most important of all, the attention of Germany was aroused. Bismarck had discouraged the rising interest in colonial expansion, lest the position he was winning for Germany in Europe should be jeopardised by doubtful enterprises which must bring her into conflict with other Powers. But in 1882 a German Colonial Society was founded after a visit of Stanley to Berlin, and in the following year a commercial adventurer named Lüderitz set up a trading-centre at Angra Pequena on the south-western coast. Then in 1884 Nachtigal made agreements with native chieftains on the Guinea Coast which ended in the German Government having to step in and take possession of the territories later known as Togoland and the Kameruns. Aroused by this, the Gladstone Ministry declared a protectorate over Nigeria, where British commercial interests had been strong for half a century. A little later Dr. Karl Peters, President of the Colonial Society, landed on the mainland behind Zanzibar with a trunk-load of German flags and blank treaty-forms, and got possession of a considerable tract of country by agreements with the natives ; whereupon a group of British merchants organised a British East Africa Company, which carried out a similar process in what is now Kenya.

Thus Bismarck found that if he held aloof much longer the very effects he most dreaded would come about—Germany would be entangled in disputes with other Powers over colonial claims. He therefore invited them to join in a conference held at Berlin in 1884. After three months of strenuous labours this conference laid down half a dozen rules for the new game of colony-grabbing. Each Power was allotted particular "spheres of interest" in Africa, within which it was to have prior claim ; each was to notify the others when it assumed a "protectorate" ; and no occupation was to be valid unless it was "effective"—this last point being to thwart such claims as that of Portugal to vast territory stretching from ocean to ocean on the strength of moribund settlements on the two coasts.

§ 169. THE WORLD-STATES.—As a result of the Berlin Conference the Powers hastened to extend their “effective” occupation as widely and as rapidly as they could, and there followed a decade of great activity. Britain took a full share in this, and signed a dozen treaties delimiting areas in which she was specially concerned, one of the most notable being Germany’s recognition of England’s claim to Zanzibar in return for the cession of Heligoland. In striking contrast to the apathy which British Governments had shown towards the spontaneous growth of the Second Empire—the great Dominions—this “THIRD EMPIRE” was the result of deliberate policy. During the ‘eighties “Imperialism” became a fashionable creed with a large section of the British public; people began to take a pride in “The Empire on which the sun never sets,” and to point out that “Trade follows the Flag,” and so on. An Imperial Federation League was formed in 1883, among its most conspicuous members being Joseph Chamberlain.

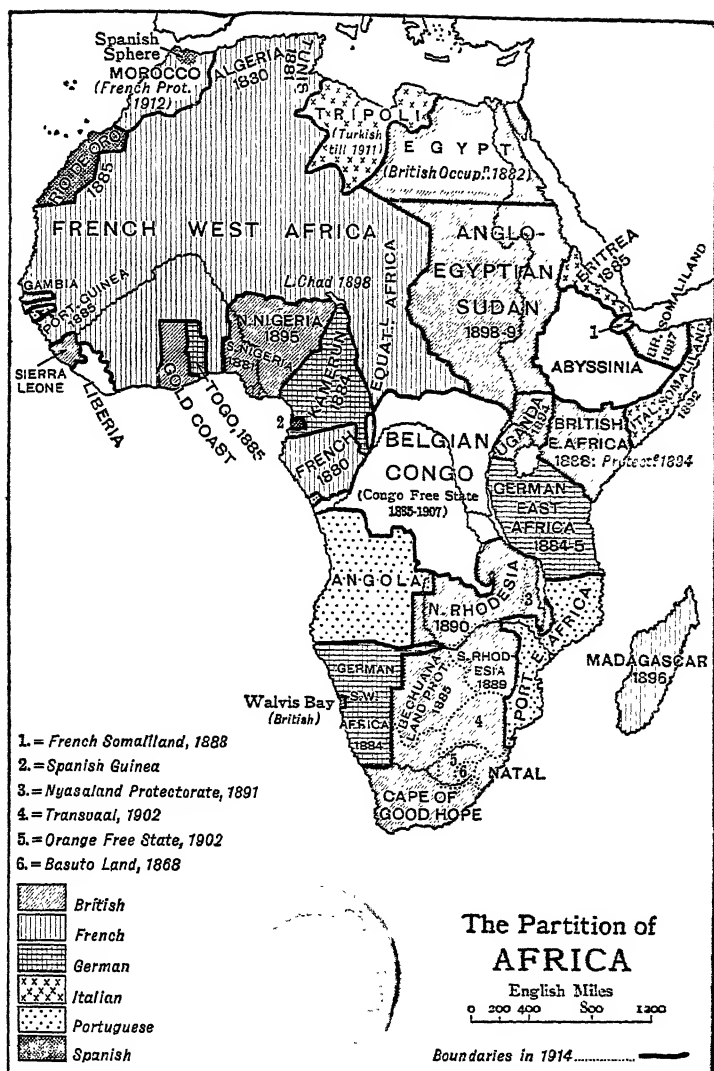
The most remarkable piece of overseas expansion during this epoch was carried through by Cecil Rhodes, who, after making a vast fortune in the diamond fields of South Africa, obtained a charter from the Government authorising his Company to take possession of the splendid high-lying land beyond the Limpopo. “RHODESIA” was the last part of the continent capable of being the permanent home of white settlers, and its possession enabled Rhodes to push on with his favourite scheme for an “all-red” railway route from the Cape to Cairo.

A glance at the map will tell more about the results of the “Scramble for Africa” than pages of description. It will be noticed that France acquired a vast area, but it consists mainly of the Sahara—“a somewhat sandy soil,” as Lord Salisbury once said. One corner of the continent calls for special mention in the light of recent events. In 1882 Italy expanded a trading-post on the Red Sea into the colony of Eritrea, and in 1890 she took over the greater part of Somaliland. She also cast longing eyes on Abyssinia, a semi-civilised Christian state reputed to

contain valuable mineral resources only waiting for development. In 1889 a treaty obtained from the Emperor Menelik contained clauses which might be construed into making the country an Italian Protectorate. Disputes arose as to the interpretation of these clauses, and a war ended with the annihilation of the Italian forces at Adowa (1896), which compelled them to abandon their Abyssinian ambitions for a quarter of a century.

Turning to Asia, we find that France confirmed the interests she had long had in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula by a hard-fought war in Tonquin which ended in giving her a formal protectorate over those lands. Holland and Britain shared in the development of the East Indies ; and in 1882 a British North Borneo Company was organised to develop a territory of 30,000 square miles in that island.

Finally, Britain had hitherto been the only Power interested in the islands of the Pacific, though she had actually annexed only Fiji ; but the new-found colonial ambitions of the other states changed the situation. France now took over New Caledonia and Tahiti, the United States established a protectorate over Hawaii, and the German Colonial Society acquired the Bismarck Archipelago and part of New Guinea. Australia and New Zealand became alarmed lest these Powers should establish naval bases in threatening proximity to their coasts, and the British Government was compelled to take a hand in the game. By a treaty signed in 1886 Oceania was parcelled out into " spheres of influence " as Africa had been two years before ; and by the end of the century the British Empire had acquired over a hundred of these islands, many of them being placed under the control of New Zealand.



N.B.—The German colonies shown above are now mandated territories. German E. Africa has become "Tanganyika," and British E. Africa is now called "Kenya."

NEW ALIGNMENTS

1890-1901

§ 170. THE DUAL ALLIANCE.—For twenty years Bismarck had pursued the tortuous policy which made Germany the dominant Power in Europe. He had contrived to keep France friendless by the Triple Alliance and the overlapping Reinsurance Treaty (§ 165), and by encouraging her in colonial ambitions which embroiled her with Britain and Italy (§ 167); and he fomented the rivalry between Russia and Austria so as to make each of them feel the need for German good will. William II in dismissing him (§ 165) announced that he was going to carry on the same course of policy, "full steam ahead." But he had already discarded one item of the Bismarckian system—the understanding with Russia; and neither he nor his "rubber-stamp" Chancellor, Caprivi, was capable of playing the complicated game at which the old man was such a master.

Yet it is doubtful whether the great Chancellor himself could have kept the game going much longer, for it was based on rotten principles. The attempt to win security for one nation by outlawing another was bound to fail in the long run, as Germany herself has proved in our own days. Bismarck relied on *force*—sheer military strength, adroitly manipulated so as to make its maximum effect in politics. He despised men like Gladstone, who talked about "the conscience of Europe" and imported the precepts of religion into international affairs. But there were more powers in heaven and earth than were dreamt of in his philosophy—as he might have realised after his defeat in the *Kulturkampf*. His treatment of France enlisted on her side the sympathies of other countries. Now that the Republic had overcome "the red spectre" of Communism, and had settled down under a highly respectable

bourgeois constitution, the rulers of Austria and Russia had no further motive for bolstering up German "security"; and Alexander III had long been coming to the conclusion that the Reinsurance Treaty was paralysing Russia for the benefit of Germany. Moreover, neither Bismarck nor anyone else could permanently prevent the recovery of France, brought about by the thrift, energy and intelligence of her people. By 1890 her army was practically as strong as Germany's, and her financial position was so healthy that she had plenty of funds for investment in foreign countries. Thus, when the Reinsurance Treaty expired, Russia was glad to form an alliance with such an eligible partner. To be sure there seemed to be something almost unnatural in a partnership between the most reactionary despotism and the most enlightened republic in Europe; but each of them saw in the Triple Alliance a permanent obstruction to its dearest hopes—France to the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, and Russia to the acquisition of Constantinople. So in the summer of 1891 the French fleet visited Kronstadt, where the Czar listened bareheaded to his bands playing the *Marseillaise*—the battle-hymn of democracy; and the two Governments made a tentative agreement to act together should either be threatened by any of the Triple Alliance Powers.

The Kaiser was much alarmed, and tried to wean Russia from such a "degrading connection"; but in the course of the next year a new cause of dissension between him and the Czar cropped up. One of his first acts after his accession had been to enter upon close relations with the Sultan of Turkey; and he was now negotiating for commercial concessions based on a railway through Asia Minor to be financed with German money and constructed by German engineers. This would check all Russian ambitions in these parts, especially as the Berlin-Bagdad railway would also increase the influence of the Teutonic Powers in the Balkan Peninsula.

Thus in 1894 the vague Franco-Russian agreement was turned into a formal military convention stipulating in what

circumstances and with what forces each would give military support to the other. It was expressly provided that this DUAL ALLIANCE should last as long as the Triple Alliance. The grouping of the great Powers into two hostile camps was now complete and definite.

§ 171. THE "SICK MAN" OF THE FAR EAST.—Russia was now impelled to accelerate her expansion across northern Asia as the line of least resistance after the thwarting of her Balkan ambitions (§ 161). Industrialism had by this time begun to make headway in Russia, and the teeming millions of China would provide an unlimited outlet for her produce. For centuries China had maintained her ancient but petrified civilisation, secluded from all contact with Western culture; but this exclusiveness had been partly broken down after the Opium War (1839-1842), which compelled the Emperor to open certain "Treaty Ports" to European goods. In 1860 Russia acquired a stretch of coast to the north of Korea, where they built a naval port (unfortunately ice-bound in winter), which they called Vladivostock. This name, which signifies "The Domination of the East," was significant of their ambitions; but equally significant was the fact that it stands opposite to Japan. For Japan was also determined to dominate the East. Up to the eighteen-sixties her culture had remained in the medieval stage depicted "on many a vase and jar, on many a screen and fan," with a Mikado who claimed to be descended from the Gods and a picturesque feudal system. Then the ruling classes suddenly set out to modernise and westernise their country. A parliamentary monarchy was set up, young men were sent to Europe to study, and such amazing faculty for imitation did the Japanese display that within twenty years the country was replete with all the amenities of Western civilisation—railways, telegraphs, universities, factories, and a conscript army.

By 1890 all this had gone so far that Japan was faced with

the same problem as the European Powers—the need for overseas markets. The most obvious outlet was just across the Sea of Japan, where the ancient kingdom of Korea was dragging on a moribund existence. The Chinese Emperor claimed a vague suzerainty over it dating from the seventh century, but its King had signed a commercial treaty with Japan in 1876. In 1894 a question arose as to whether China or Japan had the better right to put down a rebellion there. The rival peacemakers came to blows, and war was declared. The Chinese Government, under their famous statesman Li Hung Chang, had made belated efforts to modernise their war-equipment, but they were altogether outclassed by the technical efficiency of their enemy. After the destruction of their navy at the mouth of the Yalu River they were compelled to accept the terms of the Treaty of Simoneseki, by which China forfeited all interest in Korea, undertook to pay a handsome indemnity, and ceded the Liao Tung Peninsula, including the stronghold of Port Arthur which faces Tientsin and commands the approaches to Peking.

But at this stage Russia, France and Germany intervened with a joint Note "inviting" Japan to forgo Liao Tung in consideration of an increased indemnity. A foreign Power holding Port Arthur would, they said, be a threat to the integrity of China, which they were resolved to maintain. The truth of the matter was that they did not want Japan to monopolise the Chinese markets. But Britain refused to join in their action, intimating that she did not consider China, with its thriving population and ancient civilisation, to be a fair field for European commercial expansion like half-empty and three-quarters-savage Africa. With Oriental submission to the inevitable the Japanese gave way—but forthwith set about doubling their army and trebling their navy, that they might be better able to take their own part the next time a Western Power tried to balk their ambitions.

The hypocrisy of the Powers was made manifest a couple of years later. Russia, having impelled Japan to accept

an increased indemnity, now gained a hold over China by lending her the money to pay it, and used this fact to extort a lease of that very Liao Tung Peninsula which had just been declared essential to Chinese independence. Furthermore, the Russians gained the right to run their Trans-Siberian railway down to Port Arthur (an ice-free port at last!), and flooded Manchuria with troops on the pretext of protecting the line. The Kaiser followed suit by extorting a "lease" of Kiao Chow as compensation for the murder of a missionary (1897); and Britain felt obliged to obtain a similar concession at Wei-Hai-Wei in order to have a naval base from which to keep a check on the other Powers.

§ 172. "SPLENDID ISOLATION."—Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Prime Minister who directed British foreign policy with one short intermission from 1886 to 1902, believed in keeping out of the alliances which were being formed by the continental Powers. This was called "splendid isolation"; but in the course of the 'nineties it became increasingly evident that isolation was impossible for a country with so many overseas interests. In Egypt, for instance, the *Caisse de la Dette* (§ 167) controlled the exchequer, and the permanent hostility of the French member made it imperative to retain the good will of the representatives of the Triple Alliance Powers. Consequently we had to put up with some very rough treatment from them. For instance, in 1896, after Dr. Jameson's raid to overthrow the Transvaal Republic, the young Kaiser sent a telegram to President Kruger congratulating him on having repulsed it "without calling in the help of friendly Powers"—such as Germany, presumably.

At about the same time Britain met with similarly high-handed treatment from the United States. President Cleveland intervened in a frontier dispute between British Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela, announcing that he would appoint a tribunal to settle the matter. When Salisbury demurred to this enforced arbitration, Cleveland sent a message to Congress to the effect

that he would treat any attempt to enforce British claims on Venezuela as a breach of the Monroe Doctrine. A wave of warlike enthusiasm passed over the United States, and Britain's "splendidly isolated" position compelled Salisbury to give way. However, the Court of Arbitration found substantially in favour of Britain, and this storm in a tea-cup subsided.

A year or two later we found ourselves on the verge of a war with France. The French were endeavouring to carry their tropical African dominions right through the Sudan to the Red Sea, just at the time when an Anglo-Egyptian force under Sir Herbert Kitchener was reconquering the Sudan, which had formerly been subject to Egypt. The crowning victory of this campaign had scarcely been won at Omdurman when a Major Marchand set up the *tricolore* at FASHODA (1898) on the upper waters of the Nile. Kitchener rode over and politely but firmly requested the Major to haul down his flag, on the ground that the Egyptian Government could not permit any other Power to control the flow of the waters on which the economic existence of the country depends. There was acute tension between England and France for some weeks; then the French Government gave way and withdrew its claim. Nevertheless, the incident had brought home to British statesmen the possibility that some day we might have to stand alone against both France and Russia. Joseph Chamberlain, the most forceful minister in the Cabinet, made semi-official overtures for a defensive alliance both to Germany and to the United States, but met with a chilling reception.

Then came the South African War; and the unanimity with which the rest of the world sympathised with the Boers, exulted over their early successes, and gleefully anticipated the disruption of the British Empire, was a disagreeable surprise. Of course, we expected something of the sort from France, but from our Teutonic "blood relatives" it came as a shock; especially when the Kaiser hinted in public speeches that it was only the superior power of the British Navy that prevented him from taking advantage of our difficulties, and went on to

use this as an argument to induce the *Reichstag* to provide funds for a rapid increase in his fleet.

§ 173. THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.—Meanwhile the situation in China was becoming more critical month by month. The defeat at the hands of Japan, and the unscrupulous rapacity of the European Powers, gave rise to a fierce hostility towards all foreigners and foreign ideas. The Dowager Empress got control of the government and supported this reactionary movement at every opportunity. A secret society known as the "BOXERS" conducted a series of murderous attacks, directed particularly against the Christian missionaries who had extorted great privileges from the Empress. In 1899 the German minister was murdered in Peking; and the Boxers, supported by Imperial troops, besieged the British Legation, in which the other European residents took refuge. An international force, including Japanese, Russian, British, French, American and German contingents was sent to deal with the situation. The Legation was relieved (August 1900), the Imperial palace was looted, and eventually the Imperial Government was forced to submit to the "Boxer Protocol," by which it undertook to pay heavy compensation to the Powers, promised to repress all anti-foreign activities, and set aside a special quarter in Peking to be fortified and garrisoned by European troops.

This episode brought the advance of Japan forcibly to the notice of the Western Powers. Her statesmen acted with scrupulous correctitude and her soldiers gained great credit, not only by their discipline and efficiency, but by the humanity and restraint of their conduct, compared with the licence and brutality displayed by the German, French and Russian troops. These facts were taken to heart by the British Government, and in February 1902 the world was astounded to hear that they had made a formal alliance with Japan. Each party undertook to support the other's interests in China, and to give military aid if it became involved in a war with more than one Power. Thus Britain gained a powerful naval ally in the distant Pacific,

and the friendship of a rising Power which the Australasian dominions were beginning to dread ; while Japan gained assurances that when the time came for her to settle accounts with Russia, she would have a European ally who would " keep the ring " and check any disposition on the part of France to come to the aid of the Czar.

The critical moment came two years later. The Russians had been using their financial hold over the Chinese Government to make themselves masters of Manchuria. Russian regiments, Russian officials, Russian merchants abounded there, and Japan was losing all chance of commercial expansion in northern China. The Czar's Government treated her protests with contempt, for they did not believe that this upstart little yellow race would dare to challenge a mighty Empire which stretched for 6000 miles across two continents. They were mistaken. When they secured from Korea a lumber concession and sent troops to build forts there, the Japanese at first protested, and then declared war. Within forty-eight hours Admiral Togo had torpedoed half the Russian fleet outside Port Arthur and had driven all the rest inside the harbour (February 1894). A squadron from Vladivostock shared the same fate. Having thus gained command of the sea, the Japanese were able to transport their troops to the mainland, and for a year and a half a tremendous struggle was waged for the Liao Tung Peninsula. The Japanese proved themselves masters of the most up-to-date methods of warfare, especially in their care of the health of their troops, while their enemy had the disadvantage of fighting at an immense distance from its main source of supplies. The war culminated in the terrific ten days' battle of MUKDEN (March 1905), which compelled the Russians to fall back and enabled the Japanese to capture Port Arthur. The fate of the Baltic squadron, which sailed round " half the convex world " to be destroyed in a couple of hours, completed Russia's humiliation. Czardom was shaken almost to pieces by the shock, and was glad to accept the mediation of President Theodore Roosevelt. By the Treaty of PORTSMOUTH (Maine)

(September 1905) Japanese influence was recognised as paramount in Korea and in the Peninsula. But these terms were by no means the most important outcome of this amazing war. Indeed, we have not seen the last of its consequences even yet. It undermined the autocratic system in Russia by exposing the incompetence and corruption of the ruling classes. It decided once for all that China was not to be partitioned among the Western Powers. It made good the claim of the Japanese to a place among the leading civilised Powers. Above all, it aroused the self-confidence of the "coloured races," and made them feel that the era of their subordination to Europe was drawing to an end.

CHAPTER XL

THE WELDING OF THE ENTENTE

1900-1907

§ 174. REPUBLICAN FRANCE.—The Third French Republic, set up in such unpromising circumstances after the war of 1870, proved to possess greater vitality than anyone supposed at the time. Not that its history had been uneventful. Royalist and clerical opposition has repeatedly threatened it with destruction, and it was shaken by severe political crises; yet by the end of the century it was more firmly rooted and more definitely democratic than ever. It had proved that it would maintain order, it had built up a vast colonial empire, it had gained a powerful foreign ally.

Here we must note a few of the outstanding storms which shook it during the last fifteen years of the century. The first was over a military adventurer named General BOULANGER. A handsome figure of a man, he had courted the favour of the army while Minister for War by much the same methods that Louis Napoleon had employed forty years before (§ 117); he

denounced the corruption and ineptitude of Parliaments, and proposed to summon a National Convention to revise the constitution ; he talked of leading the army in a war of revenge to win back Alsace-Lorraine. All the variegated anti-republican parties—Legitimists, Bonapartists, Orleanists, Clericals—joined forces to support him ; but at the critical moment his nerve gave way. When the Government arraigned him for plotting against the security of the State, he fled to Belgium (1889), and shortly afterwards committed suicide.

Then came the "PANAMA SCANDAL." In 1881 de Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal, launched a grandiose scheme for cutting a similar waterway through the Isthmus of Panama. Thousands of thrifty French peasants and shopkeepers invested their savings in Panama Bonds. Owing to mismanagement, fraud and climatic difficulties, the project broke down, and all the money was lost. When the company went into liquidation it was discovered that many deputies and senators had been bribed to use their political power to further the scheme (1892). Here was more material for the adversaries of republican government.

But all this was halcyon calm compared with the uproar over *L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS*. In 1894 an Alsatian Jew, a Captain Dreyfus, was found guilty of selling military secrets to Germany, and was sentenced to imprisonment for life on Devil's Island, off French Guiana. His friends declared that he was the victim of anti-Semite prejudice among the Catholic officers who held most of the higher commands, and demanded a retrial. An officer who inconveniently discovered that the main document in the case was a forgery was shipped off to Tunis. Public interest in the matter grew more and more intense, until the whole nation was divided between fierce Dreyfusards and ferocious anti-Dreyfusards. It developed into a contest *à outrance* between the free-thinking republicans who dominated the Government and the Catholic monarchists who dominated the army. The former appealed to justice, truth and fair play ; the latter maintained that to question the guilt of Dreyfus was to impugn the honour

of the army—and what mattered the comfort of “a filthy Jew” compared with that? At length President Loubet took the bold step of bringing the prisoner back for retrial. After weeks of palpitating excitement this new tribunal found him “guilty with extenuating circumstances.” A few weeks later the President granted him a free pardon, and in 1906 the discovery of fresh documents completely cleared his character. In the long run the storm strengthened the Republic, for it vindicated the authority of the Civil Government over the Army.

One notable effect of the conflict was to consolidate a powerful Radical-Socialist *bloc* in the Chamber. This strongly democratic anti-clerical party determined to break for ever the political power of the Catholic Church, which had always been more or less hostile to the Republic. Under the premiership of Waldeck Rousseau all schools conducted by religious orders were closed unless they were authorised by the State—and such authorisations were very sparingly given (1902). Shortly afterwards the Concordat established in 1802 (N24) was brought to an end, on the proposal of Aristide Briand. The Catholic Church was completely severed from the State, and all religions were placed on an equal footing of freedom and independence (1905). After much bitter controversy the policy was confirmed by a general election which returned a substantial majority of the Radical-Socialists and their allies.

§ 175. A DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION.—All through the 'nineties the bickering between England and France continued. We have seen how the friction in Egypt culminated in the Fashoda crisis; English support of Dreyfus was countered by French support of the Boers; on more than one occasion it seemed as if war was inevitable. But with the turn of the century a new factor arose in European politics—the rapid expansion of the German navy. Mahan's famous books on Sea-Power had convinced the Kaiser that success in war was dependent on naval supremacy. His inability to help the Boer Republics at the time of the

Jameson Raid (§ 172) brought this home to him more forcibly than ever. He appointed as Minister of Marine a Captain Tirpitz, who had long advocated a bigger navy, and from that time forward naval expansion became a ruling passion with him. A Navy League was formed to preach the doctrine to the German people, and to induce them to submit to the burden of taxation which it involved. A great programme of shipbuilding in 1898 was accelerated two years later. In flamboyant speeches the Kaiser spoke of "Germany's bitter need of a mighty fleet," declared that "our future lies on the water" and that "Neptune's trident must be in our hands," and so on. All this gave great uneasiness in Britain, for command of the sea was necessary to the very existence of an Island Power. A further cause of apprehension was the Berlin-Bagdad railway (§ 170), which seemed to lay India open to a German attack.

It seemed madness to remain on bad terms with France when we were faced with the possibility of a life-and-death struggle with France's great enemy. Early in the new century several circumstances favoured a change in British foreign policy. The passing of Queen Victoria (1901) and of Lord Salisbury (1902) removed two powerful personalities who had always been more or less pro-German. The new Premier (Balfour) and Foreign Secretary (Lord Lansdowne) brought a fresh vision to bear on the European situation; while Edward VII (1901-1910), genial and pleasure-loving by nature, had long loved France, and was on very bad terms with his bumptious nephew William II. The King knew his position as a constitutional sovereign too well to force on the diplomatic revolution which followed, but his personality created the friendly atmosphere which made it possible.

France was equally ready to let bygones be bygones. Russia's preoccupation in Manchuria, where she was on the brink of the war with Japan which for the time annihilated both her fighting forces and her financial credit, greatly lessened the value of the Dual Alliance for the time being. Suppose Germany took

advantage of the situation to attack France while she was thus friendless !

The French Foreign Minister at this juncture was Delcassé, who had been very zealous in weakening Italy's attachment to the Triple Alliance and in advancing French interests in Morocco, where England had great commercial interests and Germany also had designs. He now achieved his master-work for France. After several months of active negotiation all the rankling causes of friction between England and France were smoothed away. England was to have a free hand in Egypt and France in Morocco ; boundaries were defined in West Africa, and between Siam and Farther India. French fishing rights off Newfoundland, which had been in dispute ever since the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), were settled at long last. Finally, it was agreed that such questions would in future be referred to arbitration. Such was the origin of the ENTENTE CORDIALE (1904) which was to have such profound consequences ten years later. It was not a formal treaty of alliance, like that between France and Russia ; it merely cleared the way for friendly co-operation and mutual support.

It was quickly put to the test. The Kaiser was extremely vexed at the new turn of affairs, and demanded that the too-active Delcassé should be dismissed. France, shaken by the recent contest between army and Government, and isolated by the situation in Russia, was unable to face his veiled threat. Delcassé resigned ; but the French nation felt its humiliation keenly, and the Chambers voted a large sum for the reorganisation of the army and the reconstruction of the frontier-fortresses. The Kaiser followed up his triumph by a surprise visit to Tangier, where he publicly declared that he would protect the Sultan of Morocco against French aggression ; and then proceeded to call upon the Powers to meet in a conference to settle the future status of Morocco. In England the Liberals had just come into power after nearly twenty years "in the wilderness," and he hoped that they would desert France in the ensuing discussions and so break up the *Entente*. But

he was disappointed. Sir Edward Grey, the new British Foreign Secretary, held firmly to his predecessor's policy. His support of France at the ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE (1906) compelled Germany to be satisfied with a general guarantee of the political independence of Morocco, together with some trivial concessions on the Congo.

§ 176. CZARIST RUSSIA.—There was one awkward point about the *Entente*: Britain's bad relations with Russia. The Russophobe tradition still lingered in this country, and our Japanese friends had just crushed France's ally to the earth.

To grasp the situation we must know something of the character both of the country and of its ruler. Nicholas II (1894-1917) was a well-meaning, simple-minded, deeply religious man. He had been brought up to believe that his autocratic power was a sacred trust to preserve Russia from the contamination that was falling upon Western democracies; and the danger of assassination kept him in closely guarded seclusion which made him entirely ignorant of what his people were doing, saying and suffering. Russia had no parliament, no cabinet: his will was law for his 150,000,000 subjects; but he was surrounded by intriguing Grand Dukes and officials, and was much under the influence of the Czarina, who was as ignorant and narrow-minded as himself.

The Dual Alliance, completed at the beginning of his reign, led to vast sums of French money being invested in Russia—some of it in strategic railways towards the western frontier, but much in stimulating the rising industries. As elsewhere, industrialism led to social discontents, and especially to bitterness against the arbitrary rule and shameless corruption of the Czar's officials. The Government regarded criticism—particularly in the form of a demand for constitutional rule—as tantamount to high treason. A crushing censorship prevented the circulation of any book or journal suspected of a "liberal" tendency. The all-pervading secret police kept a close watch on anyone suspected of "advanced" ideas. In the year 1902 over

10,000 persons were sentenced by special courts to long terms of imprisonment, to flogging that sometimes ended in death, to exile in Siberia. Yet the opposition continued to grow; practically all the intelligent middle-class belonged to it in some form or other. Some, known as Constitutional Democrats ("Cadets"), consisting of liberal nobles and professional men, aimed at little more than the Rights of Man gained by the French in 1789. The "Social Democrats," on the other hand, like the party of the same name in Germany, looked forward to political changes which would make Russia a real democracy. Lastly, there was a growing party of Revolutionary Socialists—the spiritual descendants of the Nihilists of the 'eighties (N69)—who aimed at Communism—the state-ownership of railways, mines, factories and farms. They retaliated on the Government which persecuted them by systematic assassination, "executing" unpopular officials after each case had been considered by their committee.

Nicholas was sincerely attached to peace. It was through his initiative that The Hague Conferences met (N73) to discuss—unfortunately in vain—plans for ending the race in armaments and for preventing war. But many of the grandees around him had speculated heavily in the extension of the Trans-Siberian railway and in the commercial exploitation of Manchuria, and it was these people who impelled him to undertake the war to oust Japan from these regions (§ 173). They expected an easy victory; but the army was honeycombed with corruption and favouritism; aristocratic officials robbed the stores, and dishonest contractors supplied worthless ammunition and rotten food. The resultant defeat shattered the prestige of the Imperial Government and paralysed for a time the whole social and economic life of the country. Commerce came to a standstill; soldiers mutinied when ordered to the front; peasants refused to work in the fields; town-workers wrecked factories. Plehve, the flinty reactionary who had been the Czar's chief adviser for ten years, was assassinated (July 1904). Then came "Bloody Sunday" (January 1905), when an unarmed proces-

sion of workers came to present a petition to the Czar in his Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, headed by a priest employed by the Government to lead the revolutionary movement into safe channels. The Czar allowed himself to be persuaded to order his Guards to fire on the assembled multitude in order to discourage such demonstrations; and 1500 of them were killed or wounded. This was a turning-point in the history of the Russian revolution. It was impossible in future for peasants and workers to believe that the Czar was their "little father" who would surely redress their wrongs if only these could be brought to his notice.

A year later a General Strike convinced Nicholas and his advisers that they must counterbalance the extremists by winning over the more moderate party by some concession to constitutional government. So a DUMA or Parliament met in May 1906. The "Cadets" were the largest party in it; but the members had no experience of conducting parliamentary business, and they wrangled so fiercely with each other and with the ministers that the assembly was dissolved in less than three months without having accomplished anything at all. A second Duma came to an even more untimely end when the members demurred to the Government's arrest of forty opposition members on a charge of treason.

§ 177. ANOTHER *ENTENTE*.—The Russian Government might have ended its constitutional experiment forthwith, but for the fact that it was now negotiating with Britain for an understanding like that which had recently brought her into touch with their French ally. By this time the British Government had become seriously alarmed at the growing menace of the German fleet. Hitherto they had felt confident that, build as he would, it would take the Kaiser a long time to catch up to our naval strength; but in 1906 the launching of the *Dreadnought* altered the whole situation. With the great range of her guns and the high speed developed by her engines she made all earlier battleships seem like old iron. The Germans could now

start almost level with us in building the only type of capital ship that mattered. Thus our Government was very ready to clear up the disputes which had long embittered its relations with Russia ; but they had scruples about entering into close connection with an autocracy in which savage tyranny was tempered by systematic assassination. They therefore welcomed the summoning of the Duma as a sign of a change of heart in the " Russian Bear." True, it was not really a parliament in the British sense of the term, for it had no control over the Government and very little power of legislation ; but it was at least a decent pretence of constitutional rule, and might perhaps prepare the way for something more genuine in the future. So they closed their eyes to the fact that the Czar's new minister, Stolypin, was hanging political opponents by the score (he was duly murdered shortly afterwards), and entered upon a series of diplomatic conversations which eventually created the TRIPLE ENTENTE (1907). A treaty was signed covering all outstanding questions between the two Powers. Both parties undertook to keep out of Thibet : Russia was to have no direct dealings with Afghanistan ; and Persia was divided into three zones—a British " sphere of influence," and a Russian " sphere," with a " No Man's Land " between them.

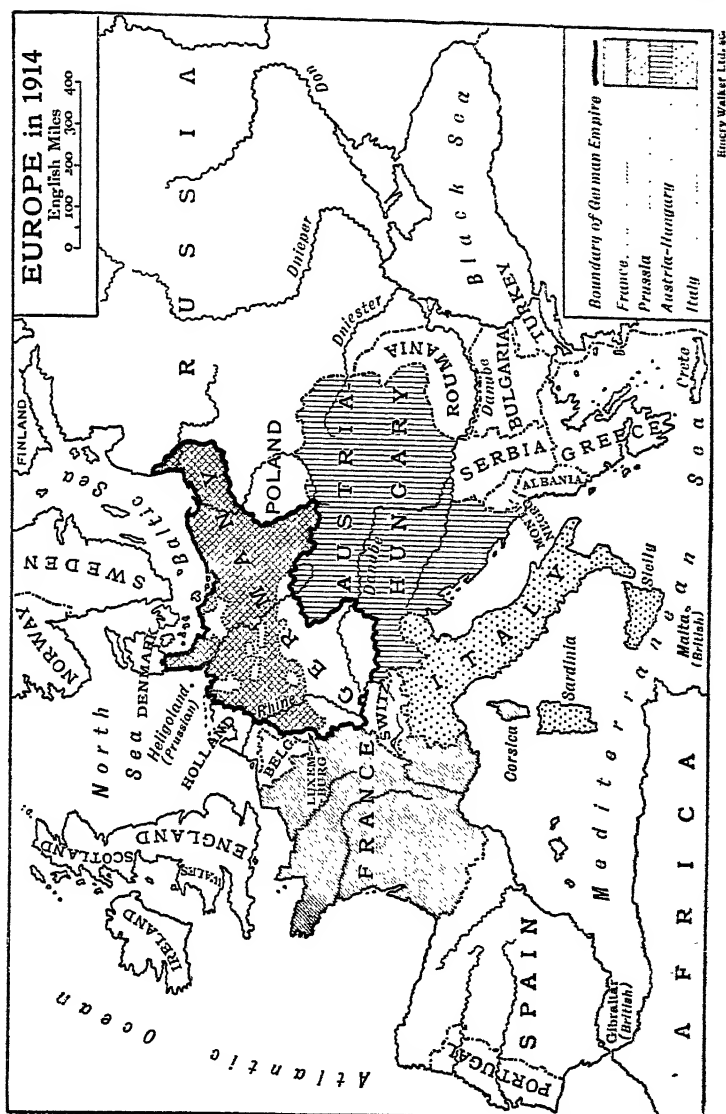
Thus the Great Powers were polarised into two hostile groups.

CHAPTER XLI

MILESTONES TO ARMAGEDDON

1908-1914

§ 178. THE ANNEXATION OF BOSNIA.—The clash of national forces in the Balkan Peninsula had led to one crisis after another all through the nineteenth century : it was now to be the immediate cause of the greatest war in history.



The Austro-Hungarian Empire, as we have seen, was a mosaic of ill-assorted and unfriendly races, held together by nothing save the Hapsburg dynasty. The two ruling races—the slack, easy-going Austrians and the keener, more energetic Hungarians—had subject peoples who yearned for union with the main body of their own folk outside the Empire. The South Slavs of Croatia, Slavonia and Bosnia looked longingly to the Kingdom of Serbia, the Rumanians of Transylvania to the Kingdom of Rumania, the Italians of Dalmatia and the Trentino to the Kingdom of Italy; while the Poles of Galicia hoped for a revival of their ancient independence in conjunction with their compatriots under the yoke of Russia and Prussia. Thus the Imperial Government was always on the defensive against hostile forces within and without, and the result was a régime of police-infested tyranny, less brutal than that of Russia, but petty, corrupt and irritating. All administrative posts were held by Austrians or Hungarians, and every effort was made to crush out local institutions and languages.

By far the most powerful of these disruptive forces was the Serbian; and there were some among the ruling classes who believed that the best way to deal with it would be to give the South Slav subjects of the Empire a separate constitution, such as the Hungarians had received at the *Ausgleich* (§ 141). But this "Trialist" project was bitterly opposed by the party most influential in Court and Government; and these people dreaded the accession of the heir-apparent, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was known to be in sympathy with it.

In 1908 occurred a revolution in the Ottoman Empire which was destined to have profound effects on the situation. For some years intelligent Turks of the younger generation had been growing discontented with the corrupt and inefficient rule of Abdul Hamid; and these "YOUNG TURKS" now suddenly raised the standard of revolt with demands for drastic reforms—constitutional government, religious and intellectual liberty, and Western ideas generally. Abdul repeated the tactics of his predecessor in 1878 (§ 159): he gave way without a struggle.

But—again like his predecessor—he tried to go back on his concessions a little later, with the result that the Young Turks deposed him in favour of a relative who was a mere tool in their hands. Two European monarchs were quick to take advantage of the paralysis of the Ottoman Government which was the first effect of these disturbances. On 5th October the ruling Prince of Bulgaria suddenly repudiated the suzerainty of the Sultan and assumed the title of “Tsar.” And two days later the Emperor Francis Joseph announced that he had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina—hitherto nominally subject to Turkey, though under Austrian administration (§ 161).

This act was a challenge to Europe : to the Powers who had taken part in the Berlin Congress, inasmuch as it tore up that settlement without consulting them ; to Serbia, inasmuch as it extinguished all hope that they might some day wring from Turkey a union with their fellow-Slavs ; above all to Russia, inasmuch as it meant the triumphant advance of her Teutonic rival in the Balkan Peninsula.

The challenge was not taken up. Serbia made indignant protest to Austria, and appealed for support to Russia, but could do nothing unaided. Britain and France were sympathetic, and people asked where one-sided repudiation of treaties would end if this wanton aggression passed unchecked ; but their material interests were not directly affected, and they would not precipitate a general war for the sake of abstract ideas of justice. Russia might have done so had it been Austria alone with which she would have had to deal ; but the German Emperor declared that if “his august ally” was compelled to draw the sword “a knight in shining armour would be found by his side.” So Russia, still suffering from the effects of the Japanese War, in the throes of army-reorganisation, without assurance of support from her ally, was forced to turn a deaf ear to the Serbian appeal. For the time being the cracks were papered over by a formal settlement by which Austria and Bulgaria gave Turkey cash as compensation for former rights.

But from that moment the Great War was almost inevitable.

The Kaiser and his *entourage* were exultant at the effect of their intervention ; while the Czar and his nationalist courtiers were bitterly resentful, and it was evident that Russia could not accept another such humiliation without forfeiting her status as a Great Power.

§ 179. GERMANY AND AGADIR.—While this storm-cloud was gathering over the Near East, another was scudding up over the North Sea. Fundamentally the Anglo-German quarrel was between a satiated state that had gained all it wanted in the world and an ambitious one that could only attain its ends at the expense of the other. Bismarck had said that Germany was “ sated ” by her triumphs in Europe, but times had changed. In her new mood she craved for a share in the domination of the globe, yet everywhere the way seemed to be barred by Britain and her sea-power. The new generation of Germans had been brought up on doctrines which fed their national self-esteem almost to bursting-point. The philosopher Nietzsche, though he hated Prussianism, idealised the ruthless non-moral power of the “ Superman,” and declared that weak individuals and nations must go to the wall to save the human race from degeneration. Treitschke, for twenty years Professor of History at Berlin University, taught that the state was the centre of man’s existence, and war the medicine for sick peoples ; the British Empire was rotten to the core, and would crumble at the first touch of Germany’s vital force. All patriotic Germans believed that the extension of their power would be for the good of the world, since their *Kultur*, with its infinite capacity for taking pains and its marvellous organising power, was the highest form of civilisation.

Of this spirit William II was the most conspicuous spokesman. He could not, of course, admit that he looked forward to the overthrow of Britain, but he was always talking about Germany’s right to “ a place in the sun,” and glorifying the armed forces that would gain it for her. Britain was very slow to take up the implied challenge. It was not until the

opening of the new century that the accelerating programmes of German naval construction made our statesmen ask: "At whom but Britain can all this be aimed?" Indeed, Tirpitz, the German Minister of Marine, openly said that "Germany must have a battle-fleet so strong that even the greatest of sea-powers will not risk a war with it." He and his master did not realise that Britain could and would build two ships to their one rather than endanger the sea-supremacy on which the daily bread of her people depended. They treated all suggestions of a truce in the competition as a tricky attempt to keep Germany in a permanent state of inferiority.

"Peace and Retrenchment" were the watchwords of the Liberal Party which came into office in Britain in 1906, but it found itself unable to resist the current of events. Not only did it rebuild the battle-fleet with Dreadnoughts and Super-Dreadnoughts under the guidance of Lord Fisher, but Haldane as Secretary of War reorganised the army to enable it to form an expeditionary force on the Continent, and French and British officers held annual "conversations" to discuss plans of campaign. Yet all these preparations were kept as far as possible out of sight, so that nothing should arouse a war-spirit in the nation; for the Government hoped against hope that the tension would relax before it reached breaking-point.

But Germany screwed it up another notch in 1911 by suddenly sending a gunboat, the *Panther*, to the Moroccan port of Agadir. The ostensible reason of this "*Panthersprung*" was to protect German commercial interests in the neighbourhood, but these interests were not visible to the naked eye. The fact was that the German Government hoped to make disorders among the lawless tribes of the interior an excuse to force France to surrender the mandate she had received at Algeciras (§ 175). This unprovoked shaking of "the mailed fist" (to use one of the Kaiser's own picturesque expressions) aroused great resentment in Paris and London. For some months Europe held its breath, watching what the outcome would be. The German Government was disconcerted to find that the

Entente was more firmly knitted than ever. Lloyd George publicly announced that the country would know how to protect its honour and dignity if these were challenged, and these words made all the greater impression coming from a man who was known to be a strong pacifist; while Grey, the Foreign Secretary, gave France assurances that England would not, as at the Algeiras crisis, leave her with merely diplomatic support. Eventually an agreement was reached by which French rights in Morocco were confirmed while Germany was placated by another little slice of Congo territory.

So the fires were damped down once more; but they burned beneath the surface with ever-increasing intensity.

§ 180. THE BALKAN WARS.—In the following year the attention of Europe swung back to the Balkans. Bulgaria's declaration of Independence and Austria's annexation of Bosnia were only the first of the consequences of the Young Turk Revolution. The nationalist Government now in power in Constantinople tried to tighten up the administration of the outlying provinces of the Empire, and to make them more definitely Turkish—with disastrous consequences. This policy had already provoked Italy to conquer Tripoli, the African province of the Ottoman Empire (N72). It now led to the loss of nearly all that was left of "Turkey in Europe."

Hitherto the Balkan nations had hated each other even more than they hated Austria and Turkey—a circumstance of which those Powers had taken full advantage. But at this juncture a number of circumstances combined to bring them together. Firstly, the Young Turk Government was trying in vain to quell a revolt in the wild highlands of Albania. Secondly, Austria's recent aggression might be the prelude to the seizure of Macedonia, including the valuable port of Salonica. That province (almost the only part of the peninsula still under the direct rule of the Turks) lay between Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, and was an "ethnographical museum" of mingled races. Its annexation by Austria would cut off all

chance of expansion for the Balkan states, and would put them under Austria's thumb. Thirdly, the fact that the Powers had made no more than a mild protest when Italy conquered Tripoli seemed to indicate that they would be equally acquiescent in a further dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

So during the summer of 1912 Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro put their heads together. They agreed to make war on Turkey simultaneously and to partition Macedonia and Albania between themselves. The chief part in arranging this compact was played by Venizelos, the Greek Premier; but it was secretly encouraged by Russia, anxious as always to check Austrian expansion in the Peninsula. In October 1912 the Balkan quartet presented a Note to the Turks, and when their demands were refused they declared war. The Great Powers did not anticipate that the Turks would have much difficulty in dealing with the situation, for their army was a quarter of a million strong, trained by German officers and armed with German weapons. But under the strain of war their organisation—and especially their commissariat—broke down completely, while the Balkan peoples revealed an unexpected capacity for modern warfare. The Bulgars invaded Thrace, overwhelmed the main Turkish army at Lule Burgas, and pushed on to the Chatalja Lines within twenty miles of Constantinople. One Serbian army invaded Macedonia, where they captured Monastir and 40,000 prisoners, while another crashed through Albania to the Adriatic. The Montenegrins struck southwards and seized Scutari. The Greeks won a brilliant victory at Janitza, which led to the occupation of Salonica, their heart's desire; while their navy captured the few remaining Aegean islands still under Turkish rule. All this happened within the space of two months (October and November 1912).

The "impossible" had come to pass, and the Triple Alliance Powers were as disconcerted as they were amazed. If Serbia extended her sway over Albania there would be a Slav belt from the Danube to the Adriatic which would bar all future Austrian expansion in the peninsula and would put a stop to Italian hopes

of recovering Dalmatia. So they at once intervened, insisting that an independent Principality of Albania should be set up under their protection. Thus Serbia was compelled to surrender the outlet to the sea which was necessary to her economic progress. With the support of Greece (also robbed of expected acquisitions in Albania) she asked Bulgaria (which had made unexpected gains in Thrace) to consent to a revision of the partition of Macedonia agreed upon before the war. The Germanic Powers saw a chance to drive a wedge into the Balkan League. At Austrian instigation Ferdinand of Bulgaria not only refused this reasonable request, but made a treacherous attack on his late allies. The Serbs and Greeks repelled the onslaught with such fury that the Bulgars were compelled to sue for peace within a week. Nor was this the end of the retribution which Ferdinand had to pay for his misdeed. Rumania, which had taken no part in the war against the Turks, now invaded Bulgaria in support of a claim to part of the Dobrudja, as compensation for Bulgarian gains elsewhere. In the circumstances this campaign was a mere holiday march for the Rumanian army. And Bulgaria's cup of bitterness ran over when the Turks took advantage of her helplessness to reconquer most of Thrace.

By the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913) another "final" revision of the Balkan map was made. Bulgaria had to give Rumania a large part of the Dobrudja, while she herself got very little of Macedonia and still less of Thrace. All the rest of Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece, and Montenegro acquired a scrap of northern Albania. (See map, p. 327.) But this settlement left bitter feelings all round. Germany and Austria were vexed at the overthrow of their protégés, the Turks and the Bulgars; the Serbs were aggrieved at the loss of the Adriatic sea-board they had conquered; Bulgaria chafed at the outcome of her own perfidy.

§ 181. OVER THE EDGE.—These events led directly to the Great War. The Central Powers argued out the position thus.

Austria must crush Serbia before she gets any stronger. Russia may come to her aid, but in that case Germany will support Austria. Should that involve a war with Russia's ally, too—well let it ! A war with France has become necessary to Austro-German expansion—the French colonies will be almost as useful to Germany as the Balkans to Austria, as fields for commercial exploitation. Moreover, the Social-Democratic Party in Germany is growing dangerous—it polled a third of the votes at the recent election ; this formidable proletariat must be called to the colours, and the German people must be reinoculated with war-glory. But how about Britain ? Well, it must be admitted that a war with Britain would be very awkward ; but there is little fear of that. The nation is sodden with soft living, its Government are weak-kneed pacifists ; and they have plenty of internal troubles to keep them busy—an approaching civil war in Ireland, great strikes in mines and on railways—they can't even keep their "suffragettes" in order ! Moreover, India will fall away and the Empire break up at the first touch of war.

From now onwards both groups of Powers hurried on with their preparations for war. The Central Powers designed huge siege-guns to batter down the frontier fortresses, and drew up elaborate train-schedules for an attack through Belgium to turn the flank of the French defences. The Kiel Canal was deepened to float the new battleships, and a Capital Levy was raised to provide a war-chest. The counter-preparations of the Entente Powers were scarcely less active. Russia pushed on with her strategic railways ; military service in France was raised from two to three years ; the British Navy adopted fifteen-inch guns and oil-fuel without waiting for adequate tests.

On 28th June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated in the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by a youth named Prinzip, who was a member of an anti-Austrian secret society. The fact that the Imperial Government sent the Archduke to make a public appearance in such a hotbed of pro-Serbianism (and the day was a Serbian national festival),

with no police protection, aroused a suspicion that they rather hoped this would happen. For they thus killed two birds with one stone—they got rid of an undesirable heir-apparent, and provided themselves with a good excuse for striking at Serbia. The German Government advised Austria to make the most of the opportunity, promising full support if Russia should come to Serbia's aid. Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, needed no urging. The murder had undoubtedly been hatched in Belgrade, though there was no evidence that the Serbian Government had any knowledge of it. After taking nearly a month to complete her preparations for war, Austria suddenly sent an ultimatum to Serbia demanding the acceptance within forty-eight hours of a humiliating penance, including heavy financial compensation and the admission of Austrian officials to put down anti-Austrian agitation in Serbia. The Serbian Government meekly agreed to nine-tenths of these demands, and offered to discuss the rest, but Austria treated this as a refusal, and the day after the ultimatum expired her big guns were bombarding Belgrade.

Russia could not allow Serbia to be crushed without a protest, especially after the annexation of Bosnia, and the Czar authorised a partial mobilisation of his army on the Austrian frontier. The Kaiser demanded that this should be instantly countermanded, and when the Czar hesitated, declared war on him. Germany then demanded that France should hand over two fortresses as a guarantee of neutrality, with the natural result that yet another declaration of war was launched.

The question in every mind now was : What will Britain do ? Grey made every effort to induce the Powers to suspend hostilities and settle the dispute by conference or by reference to The Hague Tribunal ; but the pent-up forces driving the nations into conflict were by this time irresistible. The Cabinet were divided as to whether Britain ought to enter the war. It would be difficult to justify such action to Parliament and to the nation at large, which had been kept in ignorance of much that had been going on behind the scenes during the past few years,

and which was merely bewildered by the sudden rush of events on the Continent. The *Entente Cordiale* imposed no obligation on Britain ; but France had withdrawn most of her fleet to the Mediterranean so as to allow the British Navy to concentrate in the North Sea, and Britain could hardly allow the German fleet to steam down the Channel unchallenged to attack the coasts of France. Yet, after all, what had we to do with the Balkan rivalry of Slav and Teuton which had precipitated the crisis ?

While the British ministers were still hesitating, came the news that German troops were marching through Belgium to attack France on her undefended frontier. Belgium had been "neutralised" by a treaty of 1839 (§ 104) signed by Germany as well as by France, Russia and Britain. The German Chancellor (Bethmann-Hollweg) admitted in the *Reichstag* that this was a wrongful act, but promised to make amends to Belgium after the war, and urged that it was a military necessity for Germany. But this action lost Germany the war. As in 1793 (§ 28), Britain would not stand by while a Great Power made a treacherous attack on a small state in defiance of treaty obligations—especially when this involved Antwerp and Ostend falling into dangerous hands. Thus the Government had practically the whole nation at its back when it demanded that the German army should instantly be withdrawn from Belgian soil. The time-limit of this ultimatum expired at eleven o'clock on the night of 4th August 1914. As "Big Ben" chimed the hour a new era began for Britain as for the rest of the world.

NOTES ON PERIOD V (1871-1914)

RULERS OF EUROPE

GREAT BRITAIN :	VICTORIA (1837-1901). EDWARD VII (1901-1910). GEORGE V (1910-1936).
GERMANY :	WILLIAM I (1871-1888). FREDERICK (1888). WILLIAM II (1888-1918).
AUSTRIA :	FRANCIS JOSEPH (1848-1916).
RUSSIA :	NICHOLAS I (1825-1855). ALEXANDER II (1855-1881). ALEXANDER III (1881-1894). NICHOLAS II (1894-1917).
ITALY :	VICTOR EMMANUEL II (1861-1878). HUMBERT (1878-1900). VICTOR EMMANUEL III (1900-).

No. 67.—THE CONSTITUTIONS OF FRANCE: No. 10.— THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

Unlike most of its predecessors, this was not carefully designed in accordance with political theories. The National Assembly summoned in 1871 to make peace with Germany carried on a temporary republican government until in 1875 it reluctantly passed four "Organic Laws"—the first in February, the last in November—providing for the organisation of a Senate, for the election of a Chamber prescribing the powers of the President and of the Council (§ 156). (The majority in the National Assembly which passed these laws did not really want to establish a permanent Republic—they hoped for a monarchy sooner or later. But the Laws have remained operative to the present day.)

EXECUTIVE : A *President*, elected for seven years by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies in a combined sitting which forms a National Assembly. He has much the position of a constitutional monarch : he personifies the State, he (nominally) appoints to all offices and commands the armed forces ; he appoints a Premier, who appoints the other members of the Cabinet.

LEGISLATURE : A *Senate*, men over 40, chosen by locally elected "colleges," hold office for nine years.

A *Chamber of Deputies*, elected by direct manhood suffrage ; hold office for four years. The "Power of the Purse" enables it to make and unmake ministries—which it does very frequently.

Note.—The French Parliament (like Germany's, when she had one) has always consisted of many small groups, unlike the British two-party (latterly three-party) system. This is due partly to the fact that the President has no power of dissolution, partly to the shape of the hall—semicircular instead of oblong.

No. 68.—THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1871–1918).

An adaptation of the North German Confederation (N64) to suit the altered circumstances—the change of title, and the inclusion of the south German states.

EXECUTIVE : An Emperor, who was in theory almost as absolute as Frederick the Great, especially in his control of armed forces. He appointed a Chancellor, who was responsible to him alone. The Chancellor appointed all other ministers, who were responsible, separately, to *him* alone—there was nothing resembling the British or French Cabinet system.

LEGISLATURE : A Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) representing the ruling Princes; met in private. (Prussia had seventeen out of fifty-eight members.)

A Parliament (*Reichstag*) elected by manhood suffrage. Expressed public opinion; controlled the Budget—but much of the revenue was independent of this. The Chancellor found it advisable to seek its good will; but it could not dismiss him, and he could dissolve it. (Prussia had 236 out of 397 members.)

Note.—This Imperial Constitution must not be confused with the Constitution of Prussia (granted by Frederick William IV in 1850) (N52). The Emperor was King of Prussia, and the Imperial Chancellor was also President of the Prussian Council; but the two political entities were distinct.

No. 69.—RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER II (1855–1881).

“The Czar Liberator” with humanitarian and liberal tendencies. Renounced the severe repression of his father. Aimed at winning the support of the peasants rather than that of the nobles.

Emancipation of Serfs (1861) despite bitter opposition of nobles and officials.

Half the land retained by landowner, half became collective property of the *Mir* or village-community, on payment of certain dues. System worked badly; left peasants worse off than before, ruined many nobles.

Local-elected Councils (Zemstvos) (1864) modify the old system of centralised bureaucracy.

But the Governors of the provinces contrived to nullify them by excessive use of their power of veto.

Second Polish Insurrection (1863). (See § 137.)

Rise of Socialism. The Czar's reforms had upset everybody and everything. Disappointed and disillusioned, Alexander checked his

liberal impulses. This led to development of extreme form of socialism—especially Nihilism (the abolition of all authority to make a fresh start) and Terrorism (resistance to repression by assassination). Thousands of persons exiled to Siberia without trial.

Czar murdered by a Nihilist bomb (1881).

No. 70.—CZAR ALEXANDER III (1881-1894).

Conscientious, religious, convinced that autocracy was necessary to Russia and that it was a sacred duty to maintain it. A reign of political and religious intolerance and repression, to eliminate "western ideas." Rigid control of universities; poorer classes denied education; strict censorship of the Press; police spies everywhere; everything in the hands of centralised bureaucracy; policy of Russification, to crush out national feeling in Poland, Finland, Baltic Provinces, Armenia.

Nihilism in secret societies more rampant than ever. The reign was one long civil war between Repression and Terrorism.

No. 71.—KARL MARX (1818-1883).

THE FOUNDER OF "SCIENTIFIC" SOCIALISM, AS OPPOSED TO THE SENTIMENTAL UTOPIANISM OF MEN LIKE FOURIER AND ROBERT OWEN.

A German Jew; issued "*Communist Manifesto*" (1848) which ends with the watchword: "Proletarians of the world, unite!" Expelled from Germany. Lived in London. Wrote *Das Kapital*—one of the most influential books produced during the nineteenth century. Sought to interpret existing economic conditions, and to foretell their future, in the light of History.

"He sought to prove that the 'Capitalist System of Production' is only an unpleasant phase in the evolution of mankind. Its overthrow was now, historically due. The evolutionary laws that had produced it (by allowing the capitalist to monopolise the 'surplus value' given to raw materials by the exercise of labour upon them) were now about to sweep it away. It behoved all men of good will to hasten the cataclysm."

(R. M. RAYNER: *The Story of Trade Unionism*.)

He also founded the *International Association of Workers* (1864)—"The First International." It was persecuted by governments after the Paris Commune and faded out in 1876. But national Socialist parties were founded in almost every country of Europe, all based more or less on Marx's book.

No. 72.—THE GREAT POWERS IN NORTHERN AFRICA.

A row of provinces—Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt—which had once been part of the Ottoman Empire. By the beginning of the nineteenth century all had become virtually independent under local rulers—a Pasha in Egypt, a Dey in Algiers, a Bey in Tunis, a Sultan in Morocco—who were supposed to pay annual tribute to Constantinople.

ALGERIA (1857). Home of Barbary corsairs until 1816. The Dey owed money to France, insulted French Consul. This gave Charles X excuse for conquest—to rehabilitate the French monarchy. Long struggle, carried on through the reign of Louis-Philippe by Abd-el-Kader. He was defeated and captured in 1847, but resistance continued ten years more. Very successful colonisation by France—good terms with natives, great economic improvements, valuable commercial asset.

Effects on Europe.—This success encouraged other Powers to do likewise—helped to encourage the “Scramble for Africa.”

EGYPT (1878). Beginning with Napoleon I (§ 44), and intensified under Mehemet Ali (§ 109), France became commercially and financially interested. But the cutting of the Suez Canal (1859–69) (which became “the jugular vein of the British Empire”) made the peace and good government of the country of vital importance to Britain. Hence the Dual Control, etc. (§ 167).

Effects on Europe.—Ill-feeling between France and Britain for twenty years.

TUNIS (1881). Undisciplined tribesmen interfere with French Algiers; Italy had designs on it—would be able to control the channel between eastern and western Mediterranean. So under Ferry (Premier) France sent troops there. The country became a French “Protectorate”—i.e. its Bey has to act on the “advice” of French officials.

Effects on Europe.—Italy driven into the Triple Alliance (§ 165).

MOROCCO (1905). Geographically the most available of the North African provinces to western Europe, but until 1900 too well ruled to admit of intervention. Then a weak Sultan allowed internal dissensions to arise. France interested owing to proximity of Algiers, Britain had important commercial connections.

Effects on Europe.—More bad feeling between France and Britain, only allayed by the *Entente Cordiale* (1904). Kaiser suddenly challenged this by spectacular visit to Tangier (§ 175). Algecirras Conference (1906) recognises supremacy of French influence in Morocco. Kaiser revived his challenge five years later by sending the *Panther* to Agadir, which almost led to war (1911).

TRIPOLI (1912). Great Italian commercial interests in this sparsely populated province. Restrictions imposed by “Young Turk” Government threatened these interests. Italy demanded rights of “Protectorate,” and on refusal conquered the province. Turkey’s lack of sea-power isolated the province, which nevertheless put up a vigorous resistance for a year. Annexed by Italy, Treaty of Lausanne (1912).

No. 73.—THE HAGUE CONFERENCES.

Since 1871 the Great Continental Powers had competed with each other in building up huge armed forces in preparation for “the next war,” piling up burdens of taxation. The very existence of such forces

increased the likelihood of war. In the 'nineties two new military Powers appeared : Japan (War v. China) and the United States (War v. Spain).

Great Britain and the United States had already employed arbitration to settle disputes over the *Alabama* (1871) and Venezuela (1897), but no other State had followed their example.

CONFERENCE OF 1899.

Czar Nicholas II, genuinely religious and peace-loving, invited other states to send delegates to an international Conference at The Hague to discuss the possibility of (a) limiting armaments—at any rate their further increase ; (b) mitigating the horrors of war ; (c) setting up permanent machinery for arbitration.

Of these aims (a) had to be abandoned altogether, chiefly owing to the opposition of Germany. (The army was the centre of Germany's national existence, and the Kaiser was the only ruler who called himself "The War-lord.") The other Powers were almost equally hostile to it at heart—Britain would never have consented to restrict her naval defences. Under (b) some minor restrictions were agreed to, e.g. the poisoning of wells was forbidden. As to (c) a panel of international jurists was set up, from whom a court could be formed, to which disputant states could refer questions if both consented ; but questions of "national honour" and "vital interests" were expressly excluded.

This machinery was put in motion in 1905 when the Russian Baltic squadron, on its way to destruction by Japan (§ 173), fired on some British trawlers on the Dogger Bank, mistaking them for Japanese torpedo-boats. Russia agreed to pay compensation.

CONFERENCE OF 1907.

No progress whatever made under (a) ; some useful additions made under (b) ; several improvements in the procedure under (c). But as a whole it was a great disappointment.

No. 74.—THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY.

Norway had been handed over to Sweden by the Vienna Congress (1814) (N40), but the Norwegians had always chafed at the connection. There were continual disputes as to the terms of the union—e.g. Norway's share in foreign policy.

1884. Norway gained "Home Rule," installing a separate ministry responsible to its own Parliament (*Storthing*) at Christiania (Oslo) ; the King giving his consent to the *fait accompli*.

1892. The *Storthing* demanded separate consular service, alleging that Norwegian commercial interests were subordinated to Swedish. Only conceded after a decade of wrangling in 1903.

1905. The constitutional dispute came to a head. No eligible Norwegian politicians would take office, whereupon the *Storthing* declared that as the King could not form a government he had ceased to reign. Once more Sweden consented to the *fait accompli* (no war of conquest could restore the union in the existing condition of public

opinion in Norway). Norwegians chose as King, Prince Charles of Denmark, son-in-law of Edward VII of England, who took the title of "King Haakon VII."

No. 75.—FAMOUS SAYINGS OF THE PERIOD.

- (1) La République est le régime qui nous divise le moins.

Thiers in 1872. His explanation of his conversion to republicanism after being a constitutional monarchist all his life (§ 155). The real reason for the establishment of the Third Republic.

- (2) La République sera conservatrice ou elle ne sera pas.

Thiers in 1873. A rebuke to Gambetta, who was preaching a very Radical type of republicanism (§ 155). The peasantry, the backbone of the French nation, have always been for safe, moderate, economical government that will conserve the rights of property.

- (3) Pensons-y toujours ; n'en parlons jamais.

Gambetta in 1875. The spirit of France as to winning back Alsace-Lorraine.

- (4) Le clericalisme : voilà l'ennemi.

Gambetta in 1877. The watchword of "Left Wing" republicanism in France, until it succeeded in disestablishing the Catholic Church in 1905.

- (5) "To Canossa we will not go, either in the flesh or in the spirit !"

Bismarck in 1872. His defiance of the Pope at the beginning of the *Kulturkampf* (§ 163). The reference is to the occasion when the medieval Emperor Henry IV was worsted in a similar dispute with Pope Gregory VII. When Henry tried to make his peace with the Pope, the latter kept him waiting bare-footed in the snow outside his residence at Canossa for three days before admitting him to reconciliation (1077).

- (6) Let the Turks clear out, bag and baggage, from the provinces they have desolated and profaned.

Gladstone in 1877. A forceful expression of the anti-Turkish point of view in the Eastern Question.

- (7) I bring back peace with honour.

Disraeli in 1878, on his return from the Berlin Congress.

- (8) So England is going to make war on us for a mere scrap of paper !

The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, to the British ambassador at Berlin, Sir Edward Goschen, when the latter demanded that Germany should respect the neutrality of Belgium, 4th August 1914.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD V

1. What were the results to France of her defeat in 1870-71? (LM '25.)
2. Describe the establishment of the Third Republic in France, 1871-78.
(LGS '24, OL '29, LGS '31, OC '30.)
3. Account for the rapid recovery of France after the Franco-German War.
(LM '23.)
4. With what problems was Bismarck faced after 1871 and how did he deal with them? (LM '24, '33.)
5. What was the form of government in pre-War Germany, and why did it take that form? (CL '32.)
6. Give an account of the domestic policy of Bismarck after 1870.
(LM '25, '31, CL '34.)
7. What led to the establishment of the Triple Alliance in 1882? How do you account for its continued existence until 1914? (LGS '25.)
8. What do you mean by "The Eastern Question"? Show how it affected the relations of the Great Powers between 1870 and 1914. (LM '31, '34.)
9. Trace the expansion of European power in Africa in the nineteenth century and show how international relations were affected by it.
(LGS '23, LM '32, '34, CL '30, '34.)
10. What new alliances of the Great Powers were made in 1870-1904?
(NUJB '30.)
11. Trace the rise of Socialism during this period. (OC '34, CL '34.)
12. How did the Dual Alliance between France and Russia come about? What were its chief aims?
(CL '34.)
13. Examine the good and bad features of the Treaty of Berlin.
(LM '24, CL '33.)
14. How far did the Kingdom of Italy succeed in solving the difficulties it encountered between 1871 and 1910? (LM '25.)
15. Estimate the influence of the Papacy on the history of Europe, 1815-1914.
(LM '25.)
16. Give an outline of the history of Sweden from 1809 to 1905. (LM '23.)
17. Analyse the chief factors which determined the relations of France to other European Powers between 1871 and 1906. (LM '25.)
18. Compare the foreign policy of Bismarck between 1871 and 1889 with that of William II between 1889 and 1910. (LGS '25.)
19. Give a brief account of the relations between France and England from 1856 to 1914.
(LGS '25, LM '31.)
20. What seem to you the main points of difference between the Europe of 1800 and the Europe of 1900?
(OL '32.)
21. Sketch the internal history of Russia from 1856 to 1914. (LGS '31.)
22. Describe and account for the reactionary policy of the Czar Alexander III, 1881-1894.
(LGS '24.)
23. Account for the ill-feeling which had developed between Russia and Austria by 1914.
(CL '34.)
24. Describe the relations of England and Russia from 1878 to 1914. (CL '30.)

25. Illustrate from the history of the last fifty years of this period the influence of industry and commerce on political questions. (LM '23.)
26. What were the aims of German policy in south-eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, and how far were they successful? (LGS '25.)
27. Give a brief account of the chief occasions during the nineteenth century upon which Spanish affairs have affected the general history of Europe. (LGS '31.)
28. To what causes do you attribute the position of isolation which Great Britain occupied among the European Powers at the end of the nineteenth century? (LGS '24.)
29. What progress had been effected during the nineteenth century in the movement to settle international disputes by arbitration? (LGS '24.)
30. Mention three outstanding political or economic developments in the history of Europe during the nineteenth century, and discuss the importance of one of them as fully as you can. (LGS '24.)
31. Was German foreign policy aggressive or pacific after the fall of Bismarck? Give facts in support of your answer. (CL '33.)
32. Sketch the history of the Third Republic in France up to the end of the nineteenth century. (LGS '32.)
33. What was the Triple Entente? Give some account of its formation and importance. (NUJB '30, CL '33.)
34. Describe the course of constitutional development during the nineteenth century in either Portugal, Spain or Switzerland. (LM '23.)
35. Show by a sketch-map the African possessions in 1914 of (a) Great Britain and (b) Germany. (LGS '25.)
36. Explain the events which led to the outbreak of war in the Balkan Peninsula in 1912 and 1913 respectively. (LM '32.)
37. "The Great War had its origin in the Treaty of Berlin." Discuss this statement. (LGS '24, CL '32.)
38. Describe the main events of Turkish history from 1900 to 1914. Why did Turkey join Germany in the Great War? (CL '32.)
39. Give an account of The Hague Tribunal and discuss its influence on international relations down to 1914. (LM '25.)
40. Excluding Great Britain, which of the Great European Powers would you select at the end of the nineteenth century as having a government (a) the most representative and (b) the least representative of the people? Give reasons for your answer. (LGS '23.)
41. Sketch in outline the progress towards constitutional government effected in Russia before the war. (LGS '23.)
42. Distinguish between the deep-rooted and immediate causes of war in 1914. (LGS '32.)
43. Why did the murder at Sarajevo bring about a general war? (CL '33.)

EPILOGUE

THE GREAT WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

(1914-1936)

CHAPTER XLII

THE WAR

1914-1918

§ 182. THE CLASH.—A detailed account, even in outline, of the gigantic and complex struggle which shook the world from August 1914 till November 1918 would be quite beyond the scope of this Epilogue. All that we can attempt is a few brief generalisations.

In each of the countries concerned, party strife was silenced in an outburst of enthusiastic patriotism, for all were alike convinced that their country was fighting a defensive war against an insolent aggressor. Frenchmen of all classes and creeds joined in "*L'Union Sacrée*"; the Socialists in the *Reichstag* voted for the war-credits along with the Junkers; in Britain a truce was called in the Labour disputes, in the Irish struggle and in the Suffrage Movement. It was generally expected that the ruinous cost of modern warfare would bring the war to an end one way or the other within six months, especially as most of the belligerents were "nations in arms" in which the economic life was dislocated by the calling up of workers to the colours. It was Lord Kitchener, who became Secretary for War in Asquith's Government, who first threw doubts on this expectation, by enlisting new armies "for three years or the duration of the war."

The first phase lasted five months, while military and naval operations were still fluid. The German High Command had long since decided what they were going to do in such circumstances as had now arisen. Having to fight on two fronts they would, with the help of Austria, keep back the slowly gathering forces of Russia while they dealt France a blow of such prodigious weight that she would be knocked out of the war within six weeks ; and they would then concentrate all their strength against Russia. Their invasion of France took the form of a closing clasp-knife, the haft being along the Upper Rhine, hinged on Luxembourg, with the blade slashing through Belgium and continuing until the French armies were shut in between Paris and the frontier. Their intention to attack through Belgium had long been known to the Allies, and the British Expeditionary Force (under General French) was transported across the Channel to take up a position on the extreme left of the French line. Even so, the length and strength of the German " blade " exceeded all expectations. In order to avoid encirclement and annihilation, the British had to make the famous RETREAT FROM MONS. The whole Allied line was forced back and the German cavalry was already in the outskirts of Paris when Joffre, the French commander, seized a crucial moment to make a stand along the River MARNE (September). As a result of the most critical battle of the war, the invaders retired as far as the River Aisne, where they dug themselves in. During the next few weeks each side made repeated efforts to outflank the other until the trench-lines reached the Channel near Ostend. The Germans now made terrific efforts to get possession of Calais and Boulogne, in order to embarrass British sea-communications ; but after a prolonged struggle round YPRES they were compelled to desist.

Meanwhile Russian armies had tried to create a diversion by invading Prussia, but had been severely defeated at TANNENBURG by Hindenburg and his able chief-of-staff, Ludendorff. The Austrian invasion of Serbia, on the other hand, had been

a catastrophic failure—the Serbs had repulsed it, capturing hundreds of guns and thousands of prisoners.

Most people expected that the war would be practically decided by a great naval battle in the North Sea ; but the Kaiser decided not to risk his High Seas Fleet until British strength had been reduced by mines and torpedoes. The British fleet, under Jellicoe, was unable to act on its traditional maxim that “ the first line of defence is the enemy’s ports ” owing to those ports being protected by minefields ; so it fell back on watching for the egress of its enemy at a base at Scapa Flow.

Two German warships in the Mediterranean managed to elude the British squadron there and took refuge at Constantinople, where their presence encouraged the “ Young Turk ” Government to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers. As we have seen, German interests had long been strong in Turkey (§ 170), and the “ Young Turks ” were eager for a chance to be avenged on Russia for forging the Balkan League which had humiliated them only four years earlier (§ 180).

All the other German warships on distant stations were destroyed before Christmas, and for the rest of the war the Allies had a monopoly of sea-traffic.

§ 183. THE GREAT SIEGE.—By the beginning of 1915 the war had taken the character of a gigantic siege, in which the besiegers had the advantage of being able to draw supplies from the rest of the world, while the besieged had the advantage of “ interior lines ” which enabled them to make the best use of their more limited resources in men and materials. Trench defences were strengthened by barbed-wire entanglements, dug-outs and machine-guns ; and new methods of attack, such as hand-grenades, trench-mortars, liquid fire, poison-gas and tanks, were gradually brought into use. The aeroplane, still in its infancy when war broke out, was rapidly developed, first for scouting and the direction of artillery fire, later for bombing. The Allies made tremendous attempts to batter their way into the great

fortress, notably on the River Somme in 1916, when the British casualties were 60,000 on the first day. Equally strenuous sorties were made by the beleaguered garrisons, such as their great attack on Verdun and the second Battle of Ypres; but none of these actions achieved results proportionate to the losses entailed.

Britain also conducted three minor campaigns against the Turks—in Mesopotamia, in Arabia and in Gallipoli; and an Anglo-French force was established at Salonica with the object of supporting Serbia. Among Allied soldiers and statesmen, some believed that victory could only be won by breaking in through one of these “back-doors”; but others argued that the war would be won and lost on the Western Front, and that all available forces should therefore be concentrated there. These doubts, coupled with irreconcilable war aims among the Allies, sometimes led to disastrous wavering, as over the Gallipoli Expedition.

The Russians, though they gained some successes against Austria, were driven back by a German counter-attack until the trench-lines were established well within their frontier. They might have been pressed back still farther but for the fact that Italy, having refused to join the other members of the Triple Alliance at the outbreak of war, now declared war on Austria in the hope of conquering the “*Italia Irredenta*” (N59), for which she had been longing ever since the birth of the Kingdom. But this accession of strength was counteracted in the following autumn, when the Central Powers broke down the resistance of Serbia by a concentrated effort, in order to clear the Berlin-Bagdad route to the Turkish Empire. Bulgaria, still burning to avenge the disasters of the recent Balkan Wars (§ 180), joined her German patrons in the attack, and within a few weeks Serbia lay prostrate under the feet of her enemies.

Rumania, after months of hesitation between her desire to get back the Dobrudja from Russia (§ 180) and to gain Transylvania from Austria (both these provinces being inhabited mainly by people of Rumanian stock), at last came in on the

Allied side ; but her support was of little use to them, for the Germans and Bulgars swiftly overran the country and gained possession of its valuable corn-fields and oil-wells.

The only Grand Fleet action of the war took place in May 1916. Admiral Sheer, having had the better of a conflict with the British cruiser squadron off JUTLAND, declined to be drawn into a conflict with the battleships behind it, and made for his home-ports. Admiral Jellicoe dared not risk the ships on which the Empire and the Allied cause depended by pursuing him over minefields, and the result was "a draw." The Germans inflicted more damage than they suffered, but their High Seas Fleet did not venture out of port again for the rest of the war.

Each of the belligerent nations became more and more absorbed in war-activities. Even Great Britain had to adopt compulsory military service in 1916, and to establish a special Ministry of Munitions. Asquith admitted Conservatives to join in a National Coalition Government in 1915, and a year later was superseded as head of it by Lloyd George. As in earlier wars, Britain became paymaster of her Allies, lending vast sums to Russia and Italy—even borrowing from the United States in order to do so.

§ 184. WAR-WEARINESS.—The year 1917 saw critical developments. Both sides were becoming exhausted by the economic strain, and it was a question which would first break under it. Several attempts were made to bring about a peace by negotiation, but neither side could agree to conditions upon which the other insisted—particularly in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine.

The German Government now decided on an intensified blockade of the British coast by means of submarines. They had long sunk Allied merchant vessels whenever they could, but for their blockade to be really effective they must destroy all vessels approaching British ports, even if they belonged to neutrals. This would almost certainly bring the United States, the chief neutral, into the war against them ; but they

reckoned that their new tactics would have knocked Britain out long before America could create an army big enough to have any effect in the war. This was a miscalculation which ultimately brought them to ruin. After several months, during which they succeeded in bringing Great Britain within a few weeks of the end of her resources, the British Government and Navy managed to ward off the menace—partly by accelerated shipbuilding, partly by ingenious methods of destroying submarines, but mainly by the device of sending merchant ships to sea in squadrons escorted by destroyers.

The expected declaration of war came from the United States in April 1917; but American aid could not be effective for a year or more, and at times it seemed doubtful whether the Allies would be able to hold out so long. Just at the time when America was coming into the war, Russia was going out of it. The enormous losses in men and material which that country had suffered, and the chaos into which its economic life had fallen, gave an opportunity to the revolutionary forces which had long been at work underground (§ 176). In March 1917 a food-riot in Petrograd developed into a revolution which forced the Czar to abdicate. At first a middle-class Socialist Government under Kerensky tried to carry on the war, but in October an extremist party known as the BOLSHEVIKS gained the upper hand, and made an armistice with Germany as a preliminary to reorganising the nation on Communist lines.

Then in the autumn Italy received a blow which placed her *hors de combat*, for the time being, at any rate. Some of the German troops released from the Eastern Front were sent to stiffen the Austrians on the Isonzo; and by a great offensive at CAPORETTO they sent the Italians reeling back, leaving a quarter of a million prisoners in their hands.

On the Western Front the French undertook a grandiose attack planned by General Nivelle, but it failed with such an appalling cost in casualties that mutiny broke out in the French army. In order to relieve the strain on them while order was

being restored, Marshal Haig, who now commanded the British, launched yet another great offensive, through the mud of Flanders in the neighbourhood of Passchendaele; but no substantial advance was made, apart from a brilliant little exploit near Cambrai.

The one gleam of hope on the dark horizon of the Allies at the close of the year was in Palestine, where General Allenby succeeded in capturing Jerusalem.

§ 185. THE FINAL CONVULSION.—Yet anxious as was the outlook for the Entente Allies, that of the Central Powers was desperate. The strangle-hold of the naval blockade had long been squeezing the resisting-power out of them, and their civil population were dying by the thousand of cold and the diseases resulting from years of under-nourishment. Moreover, they were coming to an end of their resources in the materials essential for the production of munitions. Bulgaria and Turkey were practically paralysed by sheer exhaustion, and since the death of old Emperor Francis Joseph (November 1916) his successor Charles VII had repeatedly urged the necessity of an immediate peace in order to save the Austrian Empire from crumbling away. The German *Reichstag* had already passed a resolution in favour of peace; but President Wilson, acting as spokesman for the Allies, had set forth their claims in "FOURTEEN POINTS" including the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine and the reparation of damage done in France and Belgium, and the acceptance of such terms would have brought about the collapse of the Hohenzollern régime. So the German Government determined on one last desperate effort to win the war before the American armies could come into the field against them. The collapse of Russia gave Germany an advantage in numbers on the Western Front for the first time since 1914; and Ludendorff had invented a method of attack which promised to be more successful than anything yet attempted.

When the attack came (March 1918) it exceeded in fierce concentration everything that could have been imagined. One

British army was almost destroyed, the line was forced back for miles, enormous supplies and tens of thousands of prisoners were taken. The losses were repaired as fast as possible, but the Germans followed up so relentlessly that by June they were back on the high-water mark of their original onslaught in 1914, and Paris was again in danger.

The crisis drove the Allies to take two important steps: they appointed Marshal Foch as generalissimo of all their forces, and they accelerated the arrival of the Americans. After mid-summer the tide of the German advance slackened, then stood still, and then began to recede in the face of determined counter-attacks. The appearance in the field of the United States—a new force, fresh, vigorous, inexhaustible in numbers and in wealth—was a crushing discouragement to the war-worn Germans. Moreover, skilful propaganda had been conducted behind the lines to the effect that the Allies were not making war on the German people but only on the Imperial Government, and disaffection was fostered by the fact that the Communism which Ludendorff had encouraged in Russia, in order to break the war-spirit there, was now spreading in the German forces.

Then came the sudden collapse of Germany's allies, one after another. First Bulgaria was knocked out by an attack from Salonica, and Serbia was recovered. National feeling among the Slav subjects of Austria now broke its bonds, and the "ramshackle empire" broke up into its ill-jointed components. In October, General Allenby completed the conquest of Palestine, and compelled the Turks to sue for an armistice. These defections made Germany's position hopeless. Revolutions broke out in the great cities, and the navy mutinied when ordered out to certain destruction. The Kaiser fled to Holland, his abdication being followed by that of the other ruling princes of the Empire. A provisional republic was set up, which accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis of an immediate armistice (11th November 1918).

CHAPTER XLIII

THE PEACE

1919-1925

§ 186. VAE VICTIS!—The collapse of the Central Powers had been so sudden and so complete that they had been unable to insist on any explanations of the "Fourteen Points" on which the settlement was to be based; especially as the conditions imposed on them by the Armistice made it impossible for them to renew the conflict, in any case.

The Peace Conference held in Paris during the first half of 1919 was unlike any other such gathering in history. Firstly, no fewer than thirty-seven states were represented, some by delegations which with their staffs occupied whole hotels. Secondly, the delegates represented democratic states, and their decisions would have to be ratified by nations goaded into a frenzy of war-hatred. Thirdly, the defeated side was not admitted to the discussions, which merely fixed the penalties to be imposed upon a prostrate foe. Fourthly, the real issues were settled behind closed doors by an inner circle, consisting of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau and (for a time) Signor Orlando; the other delegates being admitted merely to rare "plenary sessions" at which they were informed of the decisions of "The Big Four."

As in 1814-1815, the hands of the peacemakers were tied by agreements made in the course of the war, which led to acute controversy among themselves now that the time had come for carrying them into effect. The worst of these was the demand of Italy for the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which Serbia needed for her outlet to the sea (§ 180).

President Wilson, who enjoyed great prestige owing to the vast untapped resources of America, and to his lofty utterances on international morality, insisted that his project for a LEAGUE

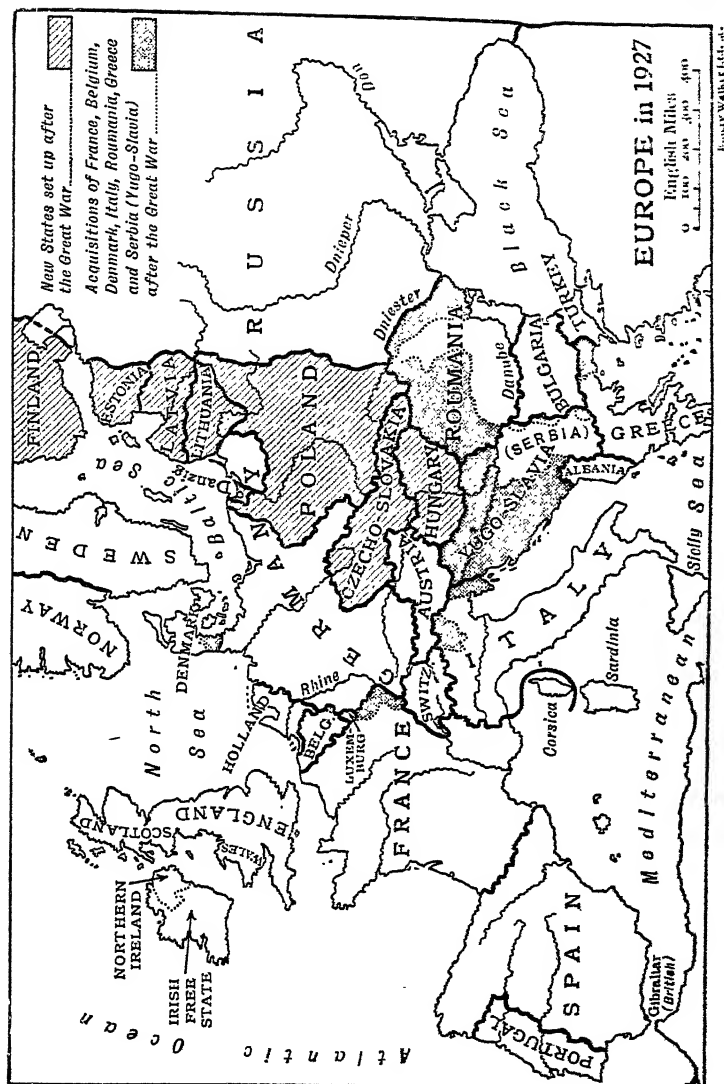
OF NATIONS should take precedence of all other matters ; and the Conference then turned to the reconstruction of the map of Europe. In this the guiding principle was supposed to be " The Self-Determination of Peoples," but in many districts races were so intermingled that it proved impossible to draw frontiers rigidly separating them. The territorial changes ultimately made were as follows : (1) Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France. (2) A Republic of Poland was created out of the territories annexed by the " robber-states " in the Partitions (N6). (3) Of the subject-races of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Bohemians now formed the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, the Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins joined the old Kingdom of Serbia to form Yugo-Slavia, and Transylvania was annexed by Rumania. (4) Four small Baltic peoples hitherto absorbed in Russia gained their independence as Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. (5) Turkey-in-Europe was limited to Constantinople, the Sea of Marmora being " neutralised," while Syria was handed over to France, and Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain under " Mandates " from the future League.

The clause in the " Fourteen Points " about Germany repairing the damage she had done in the war was now interpreted as including almost the whole cost of it—a sum so vast that it had to be left for a later Commission to fix it ; and an attempt was made to justify this by compelling her to admit sole responsibility for the conflict. Her army was limited to 100,000, she was forbidden to keep submarines or military aeroplanes, the whole of her navy and most of her merchant vessels were confiscated. The Germans had hoped that their acceptance of a republican constitution would soften the hearts of their foes, who had declared that they were only fighting to destroy the Imperial régime ; but their appeals and protests were in vain. The Treaty of Versailles was signed (June 1919) in that Hall of Mirrors where the German Empire had been so proudly inaugurated fifty years before. Similar treaties were signed during the next few months with Austria (at St. Ger-

mains), with Hungary (Trianon), with Bulgaria (Neuilly) and Turkey (Sèvres).

§ 187. DISILLUSIONMENT.—The settlement may have been the best that could be devised in the prevailing circumstances, but it was followed by a general feeling of disappointment and anxiety. Even while the Conference was sitting a Supreme Economic Council had to be appointed to organise relief for the starving populations of central Europe, where the wastage of war had been followed by the collapse of all government. Germany was driven to the verge of despair. With the physical strength of her people so depleted by years of semi-starvation that eighty per cent. of her children suffered from rickets ; with her industries crippled by lack of raw materials and disorganised by the war ; shorn of her merchant shipping and of some of her most productive provinces, she was now called upon to pay so colossal an indemnity that the amount could hardly be expressed in figures.

Moreover, the League of Nations, which seemed to be mankind's best hope for a happier future, was crippled from birth. Its chief apostle, President Wilson, made a tragic error of judgment by appealing for a party victory in the American elections of November 1918. The United States had been dragged into the war in defiance of its "isolationist" traditions, and Americans feared that the proposed League would weaken their sacred "Monroe Doctrine" (N46). Thus, when Wilson's election campaign implied that Republicans were less patriotic than Democrats, the revulsion of feeling was such that his position was undermined in both Houses of Congress. The Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles ; and as the Treaty included (by Wilson's own design) the Covenant of the League, this vote had the effect of a refusal to take any part in that organisation. Wilson started on a speech-making tour to try to win over public opinion, but was struck down by sickness, and died a few years later, a broken-hearted man. He was succeeded by a Republican President who personified America's return to "normalcy."



This defection of the greatest and most powerful nation in the world has been the cause of half the troubles which have afflicted mankind—including the Americans themselves—ever since. Among other deplorable effects, it greatly intensified the anxiety of France to prevent the recovery of her ancient enemy. During the peace-negotiations, Clemenceau had been induced to forgo a demand for the Rhine frontier in return for a pledge of support from England and America in the event of any future German aggression; but with the withdrawal of the United States this guarantee collapsed. France felt that she had been cheated, and nervously revived something very like the "policy of encirclement" which had been one of the causes of the war. She made an alliance with the new Republic of Poland, and encouraged the formation of a "Little Entente" between Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia—the "Succession States" whose interests were, like her own, bound up with resistance to any revision of the treaties.

§ 188. REVOLUTIONS.—In 1917 the Allies had sided with the opponents of the "Bolshevik" revolution (§ 184). When the war ended the "Whites" were still in arms against the "Reds," and the Allies felt bound to go on supporting their *protégés*, especially as this was their only hope of getting any return for the enormous sums they had advanced to the defunct Czarist Government. Nevertheless the Bolsheviks overcame all opposition. Like their prototypes of the French Revolution, they soon found themselves compelled to abandon their hope of converting the rest of the world to their gospel; and their leader, LENIN, had to make a compromise with Capitalism—"The New Economic Policy"—even within the borders of Russia. After his death in 1924 a "Five-Year Plan" was adopted for turning Russia into a self-contained industrial state in quick time, but even now it is difficult to say how far the great experiment in "Communism" has been successful.

In several countries post-war conditions led to personal dictatorships. Italy, having come into the war to recover

provinces inhabited by Italians which had been left outside the Kingdom at its creation, was bitterly disappointed that she did not receive more of "*Italia Irredenta*" in the settlement of 1919. Moreover, the war had strained her economic resources to breaking-point—unemployment was rife, food was at famine prices, there were constant industrial disputes, often accompanied by violence; Bolshevism was spreading. At last, in October 1922, an anti-Communist group known as the *Fascisti*, led by an ex-Socialist named MUSSOLINI, seized power. Parliamentary government was abolished, and the monarchy reduced to a shadow. Like Bolshevism, Fascism has suppressed all opposition, justifying this by the national pride which it has engendered and the efficiency of its rule.

Equally striking has been the development of Turkey. The Treaty of Sèvres robbed the Sultan not only of all his outlying provinces, but of Constantinople and most of Asia Minor. But the landing of a Greek army to take possession of allotted territory round Smyrna caused a great revival of patriotic fervour among the Turks. They rallied round Mustapha KEMAL, who reorganised the army, defeated the Greeks, overthrew the Government which had agreed to the Treaty of Sèvres, and compelled the ex-Allies to reopen the discussion of peace terms. A republic was proclaimed, which by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) recovered Constantinople and Asia Minor, with Angora as its capital. Kemal has subsequently done wonders in modernising the people and bringing them into contact with Western ideas.

Several important changes have taken place within the British Empire, too. The great Dominions have established their claim to constitutional independence; each of them is a separate member of the League of Nations, and some have their own representatives at foreign capitals. Southern Ireland, after several years of civil war, extorted her right to "Dominion Status"—a degree of independence far exceeding anything planned by Gladstone and the Home Rulers. In Egypt the spirit of nationalism resulted in the setting up of a Kingdom

in which British influence is limited to the control of the defence of the communications of the Empire through Egypt, the protection of foreign interests, and the Sudan. The demand for self-government was also increasingly insistent in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) promised Indians an increasing share in the government of their country until it achieved full "Dominion Status"; but the process was too slow for many of them. After an exhaustive investigation on the spot by the "Simon Commission" (1928-1929), and "Round Table Conferences" in London (1930-1931), an attempt is now being made to set up a federal system, to include Native States, as well as the Provinces under British rule.

§ 189. REPARATIONS AND WAR-DEBTS.—The end of 1922 was marked by a number of important events. The break-up of the Coalition Government in Britain, the abolition of the Sultanate in Turkey, and the Fascist "march on Rome" all took place during the October of that year. In December the Irish Free State came into existence, and in Russia the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" was formed by a federal treaty. Then the turn of the year saw a climax in the long, triangular struggle between France, Germany and Great Britain. The French had suffered cruelly from the invasion of their soil, and they were determined to use the Treaty not only to extort full repayment for damage done, but also to prevent Germany from recovering her pre-war strength. But "one cannot get milk from a cow when once she has been turned into beef." The Germans declared that the payment of the vast sums demanded was quite outside the range of possibility, and that if they were not given a chance to get their ruined industries going they would not be able to pay anything at all. The French regarded this as "malingering"; but Britain was more sympathetic—partly owing to a national inclination to "let bygones be bygones," and partly owing to the fact that we had less to gain from reparations. Repeated conferences failed to reach any satisfactory conclusion; the two ex-Allies drifted farther and

farther apart ; and when the French premier, Poincaré, determined to enforce payment by the military occupation of the Ruhr coalfield, the British Government openly dissociated itself from the action. It turned out to be an unproductive enterprise, and by the autumn of 1923 the franc had fallen to a ruinously low level, while the German mark was about 15,000,000 to the £. It was obvious that some new line of policy must be found. In 1924 a Commission presided over by an American economist evolved the "DAWES PLAN"—a scale of annuities from Germany coupled with a loan to enable her to make the first payments.

This question of reparations was complicated by difficulties about war-debts. The United States had lent large sums to the Allies, much of the money borrowed by Britain being re-lent to France, Russia, Belgium and Italy. No country—least of all the United States—was willing to be flooded with foreign goods, the chief form in which such loans and repayments are made ; and Britain contended that the wisest course would be to wipe them all off the slate. But the Americans did not approve of this, nor could they accept Britain's alternative suggestion that her repayments should be conditional on her receiving reparations from Germany and repayments from her continental debtors. So at length the British Government made an agreement by which the debt to the U.S.A. was to be "funded" and repaid with interest in the course of the next sixty years.

The general feeling that the war was over at last found expression in the LOCARNO TREATIES (1925), which relieved the anxiety of France about her eastern frontier. By these treaties Italy and Britain promised to support France against Germany, or Germany against France, should either be the victim of aggression by the other. At the next session of the League of Nations Germany was formally admitted, and became a permanent member of the Council.

THE AFTERMATH

1926-1936

§ 190. DISARMAMENT. — The awful experience of the war produced two contradictory effects in the outlook of the nations and their rulers. On the one hand they felt the need of co-operation to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity—hence the League of Nations and subsequent pacts of non-aggression. On the other hand they felt more intensely than ever that armed force was the only reliable safeguard for their national rights. Thousands had gone to their deaths in the “War to end War,” and the Treaty had contained a clause by which the signatories undertook to reduce their armaments to the lowest possible level. But the problem of carrying this undertaking into effect has so far proved beyond the capacity of the world’s statesmen. Private citizens have long since learned to trust to the law to settle their disputes, but the League of Nations has no such moral or material force at its back. Nationalist passion is far more deeply ingrained and far more potent than devotion to such abstract ideas as peace and justice. Moreover, the absence of the United States from its counsels deprived it from the start of the prestige and power which comes from unanimity.

The League has been effective in settling a number of minor disputes, and it has provided an invaluable means of getting people of different nationalities accustomed to working together for ends common to all humanity, such as putting down the traffic in nefarious drugs ; but it has failed to give its member-states that sense of security which alone would make them willing to disarm. In 1928 an attempt was made to supplement its efforts in this direction by the Pact of Paris (commonly known as the KELLOGG PACT, after the name of the American statesman who sponsored it). By this agreement the signatories

—practically every civilised state in the world—"renounced war as an instrument of policy," and undertook "to seek the settlement of all disputes, without exception, solely by pacific means." But the pact soon became a dead letter, for it was evident that no state had sufficient confidence in the good faith of its neighbours even to reduce its armed forces.

The hopelessness of such efforts in existing circumstances was shown up by contemporary events in Germany. The Allies—particularly France—had been so eager to crush their former enemy that they revived the very spirit they wanted to allay. By compelling her to admit sole responsibility for the war they inflicted a festering wound; and by forbidding her to rearm while they themselves were armed to the teeth they impressed upon her that armaments are the chief symbol of national dignity and security—an illusion to which history showed that the Germans were only too prone.

§ 191. THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.—The intensified nationalism just mentioned had its counterpart in economic matters. In an ideal world each country would specialise in the commodities it is best fitted to produce, and would exchange them for goods similarly produced in other countries. National jealousies have always hindered the development of this "Free Trade" system, despite Britain's example; and the war not only made all countries more eager than ever to be self-sufficient, but created a number of new states, all intent on asserting their nationhood. Furthermore, the war had compelled belligerents to seek home-made substitutes for goods they could no longer obtain from abroad, and the tendency persisted afterwards from an instinctive desire to be prepared for "the next war." The result was a disastrous check in the flow of world-trade.

Another important factor in the post-war economic situation was a rapid development of mechanisation and mass-production, the effects of which amounted to a second industrial revolution. The first had provided machinery to do the work hitherto done by hand; the second created machinery so automatic that it

needs very little "minding." To take a single example: in Ford's motor-works three men now supervise the manufacture of all the glass required for the output of a thousand cars a day. Again, the coal used to drive the steam-engines of the first industrial revolution was so bulky that industries congregated where the fuel was produced; but the far more potent force of electricity can be carried everywhere at a minimum of cost, with the result that another great shifting in the density of population has begun. Another novelty is the mechanisation of agriculture. A motor-tractor driven by a mechanic can do ten times the work that was formerly done by a ploughman and his team.

All this has resulted in a vast increase in the amount of consumable wealth at the disposal of mankind. But for it we should not be able to bear the cost of the war, which is still being paid for in the form of interest on loans; nor could we pay the greatly increased cost of "social services"—housing, insurance and education. Another effect is the rising standard of living, which has in its turn created many new industries, such as artificial silk, motor-cars, aeroplanes, gramophones, wireless and the cinema. But no such upheaval can take place without great hardship to that large proportion of the population who have lost their customary place in the economic life of their country. Hence the plague of unemployment which has wasted the working-power and ruined the personal lives of millions of our fellow-beings all over the habitable globe.

§ 192. THE GREAT SLUMP.—Nevertheless in 1925-1926 it had seemed as if the world was well on the way to recovery from the effects of the war. The "Locarno spirit" was in the air, giving hope that the Powers would now be able to begin the process of disarmament; and it appeared that world-trade was about to settle down in new channels. But more shocks were in store.

The real causes of the "Great Slump" which followed went much deeper; they were a dislocation in international finance, mainly the outcome of war-debts and reparations, combined

with the fact that mankind had accelerated the production of goods far beyond the capacity of the individual to earn the money to buy them. The result was glutted markets in which prices came down with a run ; and the resultant unemployment still further reduced consuming-power. Bewildered humanity found itself starving in the midst of plenty. The effects soon spread everywhere, for the raw materials of industry are drawn from every corner of the globe. And all this soon had its effect on governments, for taxation everywhere became less productive at the very time when unemployment was causing a great increase in the cost of " social services." Thus one part of the body politic after another was smitten with paralysis, and the difficulties of one nation involved all the others.

The full force of the economic blizzard burst in 1930. In the United States, where a " boom " had raised the share-prices of industrial concerns to fantastic heights, there was a sudden panic which ruined tens of thousands in a few days. Then came the failure of the *Credit Anstalt* of Vienna (largely owing to the Peace which had left that city a capital without a country), which made people doubt the safety of the large sums which had recently been lent to Germany. The withdrawal of assets made it impossible for the German Republic to continue the payment of reparations under the " Young Scheme " (which had succeeded to the " Dawes Plan "). President Hoover of the United States therefore proposed a moratorium for all reparations and war-debts; but France demurred in the hope of extorting further political concessions from Germany, and so the deadlock continued.

In the following year the British Government became involved in the crisis. The rapid growth of unemployment, the falling-off in exports, the decreased receipts from taxation, raised a question whether the country would be able to balance its accounts at the end of the financial year. This made foreign bankers withdraw their deposits from the Bank of England, with the result that the Bank had to suspend its undertaking to pay gold on demand—the main support of the national credit, and

of the financial system of the world. The shock to civilisation was nearly as great as the declaration of war had been in 1914.

§ 193. CONCLUSION.—Gradually the blizzard abated. In Britain a "National Government" was formed which by cutting down expenditure and increasing taxation managed to balance its accounts—though only by sacrificing the Free Trade policy which had been the foundation-stone of the national prosperity in the different conditions of the nineteenth century. A Conference was held at Ottawa in August 1932, attended by delegations from each of the Dominions, to try to lower the tariff-barriers which were hindering trade within the Empire. Some advantageous agreements were made, though less than had been hoped. In America a similar "doctor's mandate" was given to Franklin Roosevelt when he was elected President in the same year. A World Economic Conference met in 1933 to do over a wider field what the Ottawa Conference had attempted to do for the British Empire; but it was even less successful, for no country was willing to make any sacrifice of what seemed to be its immediate interests.

These economic difficulties, in fact, accentuated national feeling, and made men more incapable than ever of co-operating in the interests of all. When in February 1932 the long-awaited Disarmament Conference met at Geneva, after a "Preparatory Commission" had laboured for nearly a decade to clear the way, there were already ominous signs that it was not likely to effect anything. For Japan, still in quest of new territory for exploitation, had been during the past twelve months taking control by main force in Manchuria despite the protests of the Chinese. All sorts of proposals were put forward at the Conference, from total and immediate disarmament, proposed by Soviet Russia, to the establishment of an international "police force" under the control of the League, suggested by France; but there were fatal obstacles to them all. Despite the persistent and tactful efforts of the president, Arthur Henderson, the Disarmament Conference had to be "adjourned"—which

really meant abandoned—without achieving anything at all ; and the Powers fell back on a policy of “ regional pacts,” between Germany and Poland, between the Balkan states, and (quite recently) between France and Russia. Moreover, the German nation, which had long been growing more and more resentful over the position of inferiority in which it had been placed by the Treaty of Versailles, now lost patience altogether. This spirit of resentment was the mainspring of the rise of the National Socialist Party under Adolf Hitler, which seized power while the Conference was actually sitting. The Republic was replaced by the “ Third Reich,” and the new Government began with a savage persecution of Jews and Communists and the suppression of all organisations which might oppose its dictatorial power, such as Trade Unions, political parties, and religious bodies. Germany avowed her intention of rearming at once ; and when the other Powers demurred to this, she withdrew from the Conference and eventually from the League of Nations. Much the same thing happened in the case of Japan. The League sent “ The Lytton Commission ” to the Far East to make an enquiry into the Sino-Japanese dispute ; and when this Commission reported Japan to be in the wrong, that Power severed its connection with the League altogether, and the League had to look on helplessly while the militarist party which ruled Japan set up a vassal state of “ Manchukuo.” Nor did the “ sanctions ” provided in the Covenant prevent the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. “ Power politics ” seem to have broken out again in even more lawless and violent forms than before the Great War—for example, intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the Japanese invasion of China, and the German occupation of Austria.

Yet good may result from an excess of evil. Another great war would destroy our civilisation altogether. Recent events have shown up the weakness of the existing machinery for co-operation, but the nations realise that something of the sort *must* be devised. Self-preservation is the first law of life ; and “ where there’s a will there’s a way.”

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